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EDITOR'S NOTE

This is the last number of the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute I am editing. I am now running my 79th year of age and am verging on the 80th. So, under medical advice, I am to keep away as much as possible from mental work. While retiring from the Editorial Chair, I pray to be excused for shortcomings in the Journal. If any merits were seen let God be thanked for them. I beg to tender my best thanks to all the contributors who have kindly contributed with or without my asking contributions. I beg to thank Mr. Khodabux Edalji Punegar, B.A., the Librarian of the Institute, for all the help that he has given me in editing the Journal.

May God bless the Journal.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI

*Pilot Bunder Road, Colaba,
Bombay, 21st January 1933.*

Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi edited and published the first number of the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute on the 3rd June, 1922. Before retiring he published twenty-four numbers of the Journal, containing important material which has been appreciated by the Iranists of the world. This No. 25, containing very important articles from Sir Jivanji's pen, comes out after his passing away on the 28th March, 1933. He had gone through pages 1-48 himself; the remaining pages have been revised by the undersigned.

There will be but one opinion on the good work done by Sir Jivanji as the Editor of this Journal, dedicating the last eleven precious years of his busy life in drudgery such as that of the publication of research work, and posterity will with one voice accord their unanimous approbation of his noble mission. There is a good deal which awaits publication as Sir Jivanji's posthumous work and it is to be wished that there will be the least possible delay in carrying it through the press. .

B. T. ANKLESARIA

22nd December, 1933.

قصه زرتشتیان هندوستان

و

بیان آتش بهرام نوساری

QISSEH-I ZARTÛSHTIÂN-I HINDÛSTÂN

VA

BAYAN-I ÂTASH BEHRÂM-I NAOSARI.

BY DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, KT.,

(Continued from *Journal* No. 19, p. 57.)

VI

PLACES, PERSONAGES AND EVENTS MENTIONED IN THE QISSEH.

Having given a brief version of our Qisseh, I will now speak of the following :—

- I. The Places mentioned in the Qisseh.
- II. The Personages, (a) Iranian and (b) Indian, mentioned in the Qisseh.
- III. The Events mentioned in the Qisseh.

I—PLACES MENTIONED IN THE QISSEH. A FEW NOTES ON THEM FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF EARLY PARSEE HISTORY.

I will give in this section a few notes on the places mentioned in the Qisseh. Most of the places bear names which are the same as, or similar to, their modern names. So, very little is to be said from a geographical point as to

A List of the
Places mentioned
in the Qisseh.

their identification. But, many of them require some observations from the point of view of the early history of the Parsees. I will submit, in brief, these observations, mostly for the early period preceding the events mentioned in the Qisseh. The places named are the following:

1. Kashmir, c. (couplet) 51.
2. Place of the Dargâh-i Shâhanshâh (Balkh), c. 58.
3. Kohistân, c. 109.
4. Hormuz, c. 111.
5. Hindustan, c. 130.
6. Dib (Diu), c. 139.
7. Gujarat, c. 144.
8. Sanjan, c. 146.
9. Bânkânir, c. 199.
10. Bahruch, c. 199.
11. Anklisar, c. 200.
12. Khambâyat, c. 200.
13. Naosari, c. 201.
14. Rûd-i Pâr, c. 207.
15. Rûd-i Dantâr, c. 207.
16. Rûd-i Baryâv, c. 210.
17. Deh-i Bulsâr, c. 227.
18. Kuh-i Baharût, c. 269.
19. Bansdeh, c. 271.
20. Surat, c. 338.
21. Sungar, c. 464.
22. Udwareh, c. 499.
23. Munbai, c. 585.

Kashmir is not our modern Kashmir. The name

- | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|---|
| <p>1.
c. 51.</p> | <p>Kashmir.</p> | <p>Kashmir (کشمیر) is miswritten here, as in some other Parsi¹ writings, for Kashmar (کشمر). Tradition, as</p> |
|----------------------|-----------------|---|

¹ Gujarati Rehbar-i-Din-i. Zarthoshti (રેહબરે દીને ઝરથોસ્તી) by Dastur Erachji Sohrabji Meherjirana, p. 40.

recorded in later books as in this, says that Zoroaster brought to the Court of King Gushtasp, together with 21 nasks or books and an ever-burning fire, a branch of a tree. This tree is that of Kashmar of Persia and not of Kashmir of India. I have spoken on this subject at some length, pointing out the error in names in my paper on Kashmir,¹ suggested to me by my first visit of Kashmir. The Dabistan² seems to have first made the mistake and misled others. Firdousi gives the name properly as Kashmar.³ According to Ousley, this tree reminds us of "that extraordinary triple tree, planted by the Patriarch Abraham and existing until the death of Christ."⁴

Our author does not name the place of the Court of King Gushtasp, where Zoroaster visited him. But we know from other sources that the place was the Bâkhdi (*بکدی*) of the Avesta,⁵ Bakhtri of the Cuneiform Inscriptions,⁶ Bakhar or Bakhal of the Pahlavi writers⁷ and Balkh of the early and later Mahomedan writers.⁸ As Prof.

2. Place of the Dargâh-i-Shâhân-shâh. c. 58.

1 *Vide* my paper "Cashmere and the Ancient Persians" (Jl. B.B. R.A.S., Vol. XIX, pp. 237-48. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part I, p. 110.)

2 The Dabistan, translated by Shea and Troyer, Vol. I, pp. 306-9.

3 Vuller's Ed. III, p. 1497.

4 Travels in Persia, Vol. I, p. 389.

5 Vendidad I, 7.

6 Darius's Inscription of Behistun, col. 1, 6; Tolman's Guide to Old Persian Inscriptions, p. 55.

7 Pahlavi Vendidad, Chap. 1, 7; Dastur Hoshang Jamasp's Text, p. 7.

8 (a) Firdousi. Le Livre des Rois, par M. Mohl, II, p. 41; (b) Tabari, traduit par Zotenberg, p. 277; (c) Maçoudi, traduit par Barbier de Meynard, II, p. 119.

Darmesteter derives it, the name Balkh is derived¹ from Avesta Bākhdhi.

Zoroaster was born at Amui or Amvi² in the district on the border of the lake of Urumiah (Chāechasta of the Avesta) in Azarbaizān, but he promulgated his religion, at first, in Balkh. The Pahlavi Shatroihā-i-Airan includes it in Khorassan. Maçoudi, Yakout³ and Mirkhond⁴ attribute its foundation to Lohrasp, the father of Gustasp.⁵

The Kohistān, lit. the country of mountains, referred to here, is the Kohistān in Khorassan.

3. Kohistān. c. 109. The limit of Khorassan itself varies, according to different writers and at different times. Kinnar gives for its boundaries the Oxus on the N. E. and East, Cabul and Seistan to the south, and to the west Iraq, Astarabād and Dapastar.⁶ The same is the case with Kohistān. Kohistān includes the provinces of Gilan, Mazenderān and Tabaristān. As to how the fugitive Zoroastrians continued to live in Iran pretty safely,

1 For the derivation of the name and for further particulars about Balkh, *vide* my paper "A Few Materials for a Chapter in the Early History of Bactria, collected from some Iranian Sources" (Journal of the B.B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXIV, pp. 1-13. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part II, pp. 106-118. *Vide* in my "Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names," the word Bākhdhi.

2 *Vide* my paper on "The Birth place of Zoroaster" in Journal, K. R. Cama Oriental Institute No. 9, pp. 1-113. *Vide* my "Cama Oriental Institute Papers", pp. 129-241. For an account of my visit to this village, now a Kurdish village, *vide* my Gujarati "Book of Travels" 1926, pp. 290-92.

3 Dictionnaire de la Perse, par B. de Meynard, II, p. 121.

4 Shea's Mirkhond, p. 59; Naval Kishore's Lucknow Edition, I, p. 150. Some attribute its formation to Kayomars and Kaus.

5 For a fuller account of the city, *vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part I, pp. 155, 195-96.

6 Kinnar's Geographical Memoirs of the Persian Empire, p. 139. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part I, pp. 149 etc.

and as to how some Zoroastrian dynasties, known as that of the Bâw and Gâobarah Sephabuds continued to rule in Kohistân, we read as follows from the pen of Prof. Rehatsek:—"The reason why several of these little sovereigns managed to subsist.....and why at least the Bâw and Gâobarah Sephabuds succeeded in maintaining themselves in the Kôhestân or 'mountain region' must be sought in the rugged and wild character of a land full of jungles, rocks and precipices, as well as of malarious plains; in the independent nature of mountaineers; and in the struggles of the Abbaside Khalifs with various rebels, who sometimes so fully engaged their forces that the princes of Tabaristân and Mâzenderân had opportunities of temporarily throwing off the yoke of their conquerors."¹

Hormuz in the Persian Gulf was a great emporium of trade upto the 17th to 18th centuries.

4. H o r m u z.
c. 111. There were two places, close to each other, known by this name. One was the city of Hormuz, situated on the main land. Another was the island of Hormuz, close by. The Hormuz, referred to in our Qisseh, is not the island but the city (شهر هرمز). The Qisseh-i Sanjan also speaks of it as Shehr-i Hormuz. It was the port for the city of Kerman. Formerly, it served as a port for Sijistan and Khorassan. According to Yakout, some authors spoke of it as Hormuz (هرموز).² Its riches gave rise to a saying "If the earth

¹ Rehatsek's paper "The Bâw and Gâobarah Sephabuds along the Southern Caspian shores". (Jour. B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XII, pp. 410-15). For a brief outline of this paper, *vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. Society, during the last 100 years, from a Parsæe Point of View," pp. 79-82. *Vide* The Centenary Volume of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society.

² Dictionnaire de la Perse, par Barbier de Meynard, p. 595.

is a ring, Hormaz is its jewel.”¹

Hindustan is the Iranian name of India. Strange to find that, Hindus, the inhabitants of
 5. Hindustan. c.
 130. Hindustan, have taken the names, both of their country and themselves, from the Iranian name. The original Avesta name for the north-western part of the country, watered by the great Indus (the Sindhu of our Hindu brethren) was Hapta-Hindu, corresponding to the Sapt-Sindhu of Hindu writers. It is the Iranian name, which has given to the westerners, the name of “India”. The proper Indian name of the country would be Sindhustan instead of Hindustan, which Indian name is still preserved in the name of the river Sindhu which waters it, and in the name of Sind which is watered by it. Hindustan was known to the Iranians from very ancient times, both for its trade and culture. We learn some interesting facts about such relations from the Paikuli Inscriptions recently described by Prof. Herzfeld. As said by Prof. Herzfeld:—“At the end of the inscription, we meet among the independent princes who congratulate Narseh on his accession, a great number of princes whom, with greater or lesser certainty, we must consider as Indian Śakas. In the second group of princes of royal rank, we have Bérúwán i Spandár(á)tán, the Páradán sháh, perhaps Varázgárte Sháh, the king of Ábhirá, and probably Síká..., whose name is incomplete, whose title is missing”.² So, at the time of the Arab conquest, some Parsees fled in the direction of China, in the company of a son of Yazdagard,

1 Bombay Gazetteer, IX, Part II, Gujarat population, p. 183. *Vide* separate publication by Seervai and Patel, p. 1.

2 “Paikuli: Monument and Inscription of the Early History of the Sassanian Empire.” By Ernst Herzfeld (Berlin 1924), Chap. III: The Early History of the Sasanian Empire, p. 43.

and the band referred to by our author came to India.¹ Persia was, as well said by a writer, 'an ante-chamber for the spread of the culture of India to the West'.²

We find the first record of a priest having been sent from Naosari, with a letter by Dastur 6. Dib (Diu). c. Asdin Kaka, to officiate among the Parsee 139. laymen there. It seems that during the very first emigration, when the Parsees left Diu after a stay of 5 years for Sanjan, some Parsees must have stayed there.³ Diu continued to be under the Panthak or ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Naosari, until some time before 1826. Mr. Jehangirjee and Nowroji Nusserwanji Wadia of Bombay, one of whom was a member of the then Parsi Panchayet of Bombay, founded there a Fire-temple in 1830 A.C. and a Tower of Silence in 1833. The Tower is situated on a beautiful place on the top of a hill close to the shores of the great Arabian Sea.

1 For an account of India, as known in the times of the Avesta, *vide* my paper, entitled "India in the Avesta of the Parsees read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Jour. Bengal As. Society, New Series, Vol. IX, No. 10, pp. 427-36. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part II, pp. 201-210).

2 For a brief account of the relations of Persia with India from very old times down to later times, *vide* "Gujarati Parsees" by Seervai and Patel, pp. 1-2, No. 4. Bombay Gazetteer, IX, Part II, pp. 183-84.

3 We find a reference to Diu as being in the panthak or ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Naosari in an old document of Samvat 1672 (about 1615 A.C.) *Vide* Mr. Fardunji Ratanji Kanga's Gujarati History of the Bhagarsath Anjuman (1932), p. 23.

I had the pleasure of visiting the island of Diu on 12th March 1931, when it seemed to me, that the few Parsees, who still lived there, were possibly the remnants of the descendants of the first comers. They were mostly poor. The one principal place, that drew my attention, was a place within a very peculiar formation of a hill, about 2 miles from the town, where the Parsees annually went upto a few years ago for the celebration of the Gahambar. The late Ervad

The few Parsees, who live there at present, seem to be the descendants of the first-comers. This appears from the fact, that, in their letter of appeal for help to the Parsee Panchayet of Bombay in 1826, they said that they (owing to long isolation and separation) were on the point of losing all touch with Parsee religion (હમારે હાથ માજદીઆરાની દીનાને રાકરે કુશતી મહજબથી જરતોરાશત પેગમ્બરને દીનથી ગણાજ નાચાર છઈએ ને હમારે હાથે આપણો મહજબ રહેઓ નાથી છેક મહજબથી જતા રેશુ અને ગના નાચાર અને નાએલાજ ઈઆને પરીમાન છેએ").¹

The early Achæmenian rulers, Cyrus and Darius and his successors, had some relations with
 7 Gujarat c. India. This was more in the direction
 144. of Punjab and of the country of the North-Western frontiers. But, in later times, the Sasanians had relations with the countries on the Western coast of India, and among them, more especially with Gujarat. Prof. Herzfeld's very valuable work at Paikuli has thrown some important light on this question and shown that the Persian rule had, at one time, advanced to the Western part of India. In the Pahlavi Inscriptions at Paikuli, the learned Professor has traced the names of several Hindu kings. So, Gujarat was known to them. Gujarat derives its name from the Gujjars, a people who had come from the direction of Persia.² So the Parsees, when they came to and landed in

Tehmuras D. Anklesaria thought that they were visited for the performance of Jashans (*Vide* for his views my "Glimpse into the History and Work of the Zarthoshti Din-ni Khol Karnari Mandli" (1922), pp. 50-51.) Diu passed from the hands of the Sultan of Deccan into the hands of the Portuguese some time before 1561 A.O. (*Vide* my account of my visit to Diu in the *Jam-e-Jamshed*, March 1931.)

1 *Vide* my Gujarati History of the Parsee Panchayet (પારસી પંચાયેતની તવારીખ), Vol. I, p. 406.

2 *Vide* "The Gujarat Parsees" by Kharshedji N. Seervai and B. B. Pate', a reprint from the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. IX, Part II, on Gujarat Population, pp. 183 *et seq.*

Gujarat, came to a country well known to them.¹

Sanjan, the place of the very first settlement of the Parsees in India, after the Arab conquest of Persia, is referred to in some Silhara grants of India, under the name of Hamyamana (anjuman in Persian). This name, which seems to mean, a people or community living together in one place, points to the fact that the Parsees had founded a separate settlement there.²

The Bankanir referred to here is not the Vankaner of Kathiawar, but it is the Kankaner, in the district round Bardoli.

According to our Qissch, the Emigration of the Parsees to Bahruch or Broach, took place in 1090 A.D. Broach seems to have been known to the Persians from very early times:—

(a) It seems to have passed into the hands of Parthian princes, known by the name of Sâhs or Kshatrapas Rudradâmans. Gîrnâr Inscriptions dated in the year seventy-two probably of the Sâka era (A.D. 150) states this distinctly and the occurrence of Sâha's coins in the Broach District confirms it.³

1 *Vide* my Lecture, entitled “ગુજરાતને નામ આપનારા ગુજજરા” (The Gujjars who gave name to Gujarat,) delivered before the Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad on 24th June 1929. *Vide* my Gujarati Dnyan Prasarak Vishayô (in the Press), Part V, pp. 39 *et seq.*

2 *Vide* my paper entitled “The Ancient Name of Sanjan” (The Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, p. 167. *Vide* my “Asiatic Papers”, Part I, pp. 201-16. *Vide* Prof. S. H. Hodivala's paper entitled ‘Jadi Rana and the Kisseh-i Sanjan.’ *Vide* my “Bahman Kaikobad and the Kisseh-i Sanjan,” pp. 16-18.

3 Bombay Gazetteer, Surat and Broach, Vol. II, p. 464.

(b) The Parthian King Menander (about B.C. 126) held paramount authority in Savrasashtra and according to Periplus his coins were current in Broach in the first century A.C.¹

(c) According to Wilford, King Gadha-rupa, referred to in the Agni Puran, was the Sasanian King Behramgore. He says that Hindus "shew to this day (1809) the place where he (Behramgore or Gadha-rupa) lived, about one day's march to the north of Baroach with the ruins of his palace".²

These facts lead to show that Broach must have been known to Persia long time before the Parsees first went there in large numbers in 1090.

Anklesar is a Parsee town on the bank of the Nera-badah opposite to Broach. It is still a
 11. Anklesar, c. Parsee centre. It was a seat of some
 200. learned Parsee priests because we find it mentioned in the colophons of some Parsee books. Our author omits the name of Bariav (بارياف) which occurs in the Qisseh-i Sanjan after Broach and before Anklesar.

Kambayat (کنبایات) is Cambay, known as Khambât (خمبات). According to the Qisseh, the
 12. Kambayat. Parsees first went there in 1090 A.C. A
 c. 200. Mahomedan author, Maulânâ Nurud-din Muhammad Ufi, says in his book *Jawâmi' ul Hikâyât wa Lawâmi' ul Riwayât* (*i.e.*, Collections of Stories and Illustrations of Histories³) that Parsees lived in Cambay at the end of the 11th century. Muhammad

1 Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VII, pp. 35-36.

2 *Vide* Asiatic Researches, IX, pp. 147-151.

3 *Vide* Elliot's History of India according to Mahomedan Writers, Vol. II, pp. 162-64. The above author Ufi lived in Delhi under Altamash in 1211 A.C. (*Ibid.* p. 156).

Ufi, who wrote the above, had personally gone to Cambay in the time of King Jai Singh (1094-1143), who ruled there.¹ So, he seems to speak on the authority of what he heard there and thus supports the statements of the Qisseh. It seems that some few persons may have gone there on business, even before the above migration of a large band. The successful stay and business there of these few Parsees seems to have drawn a larger band when the general dispersion took place.²

Cambay seems to have become a prosperous settlement of the Parsees. This appears from the colophons at the end of the Pahlavi texts published by Dastur Jamaspji Minocherji.³ A Parsee, Chāhīl Âtar by name, seems to have grown rich there. He sent for Meherban Kaikhusru, a competent scribe, from Persia to India, to copy Pahlavi Text in the Samvat year 1377, *i.e.*, 1321 A.C. Prof. Shapurshah H. Hodiwala, referring to the colophons of some old Mss., says: "The explicit mention in them of a fairly wealthy Behdin of Cambay and the Roznâmak of so many as six of his ancestors prove that the tradition about Cambay having been one of the oldest Parsi settlements.....is demonstrably correct."⁴

Even at present several Parsee families of Bombay bear the surname of Khambatta, *i.e.*, of Khambat or of

1 Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. II, Rewa Kantha, Nârukot, Cambay and Surat States, p. 215.

2 For a fuller account of this migration to Cambay, *vide* my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates," pp. 18-21.

3 "Pahlavi Texts I from an ancient Manuscript of Mehr Awan Kaikhusru," (MK) by Dastur Jamaspjee Minocherjee Jamasp Asa.

4 Studies in Parsi History (1920), p. 127. *Vide* also Prof. Hodiwala's lectures on "The Old Parsi Settlements of Cambay" (*Vide* K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Publication Parsi History" (1926), pp. 1-38.

Cambay, thus showing that it was a flourishing Parsee settlement, upto about 200 years ago. A known Parsee from this City, Mr. Modi had served Peshwa in, as late as, the 18th century.¹

According to Lieut. H. D. Robertson's "Historical Narrative of the City of Cambay,"² the ancient name of Cambay was Kooarka Kheshitar (Kumārikā Khshetra). He says:—"The holy temple of Kooarka was surrounded by a small town, to which the Parsees repaired at first in small numbers, but afterwards in greater, from the report of the profits of their brethren. They at length increased to so great a body that they outnumbered the original inhabitants."³ Robertson then says—he gives no authority but he seems to have heard this story there—that they harassed the Hindus, who had to fly. But, they, later on, under the leadership of a Bania from Surat, returned with Rajpoots and Koles⁴ "in the night attacked the Parsees, putting many to the sword, and setting fire to their houses. The rest took to flight and not a Parsee was to be seen in Kooarka Kheshitar (Cambay)""⁵ The very fact, that the Parsees continued to live there in large numbers till the last century, that one of them had risen to a position of some influence with the Peshwas and the British Government, and the very fact that some Parsees still live there, show that there seems to be much exaggeration in the narrative

1 *Vide* my paper in the Journal (Dob) of Dastur Hohang Jamasp School of 1932.

2 "Historical Narrative of the City of Cambay from Sanskrit and Persian books and oral tradition submitted to Government on the 13th September 1813," published in 1856 in "The Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government" (No. XXVI, New Series), compiled and edited by R. Hughes Thomas.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 52-53.

4 *Ibid.* p. 53.

5 *Vide* my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates," p. 21.

of some incident of a quarrel. The Parsees of Cambay had a brick Tower of Silence at first, but the first Tower of stone was built some time before 1535.¹ A Cambay Parsee named Kāmdin Shāpur was sent by the Broach Parsees to Persia in 1559 to fetch varas (hair of the sacred bull) and religious books from there.²

According to Mr. Sorabji Muncherji Desai,³ Naosari had, at one time or another, seven different names. Two of these seven names are associated with, or known among, the Parsees. One is Parsipuri (*i.e.*, Parsee town), by which name it is said to have been known at the time when the Desaiگیری of the town was held by a Parsee, by name Ashâ, the father of Changashah⁴, referred to in our Qisseh. The second is Navsari. This name means "New (nao) sari". Sari was a town in Mazinderan in Persia, and it is said that some new comers to the place who had seen and known the town in Persia as having good climate, named this town after it. Sir James Campbell doubts this derivation and thinks, that it is a name, akin to an old name, referred to even by some ancient Western writers. It seems possible that, even if the name is akin to an old name, the early Parsees may have moulded it in their own fashion. Early Hindu writings speak of it as Nāgmandal.

Several travellers have referred to this Parsee town. Sir Streynsham Master,⁵ Hawkins, Monserratte have referred to it. Of some particulars, given by the first two, I have spoken at some length in my papers on Rustom

1 *Parsi Prakash*, Volume I, p. 8.

2 *Ibid.*

3 ત્રણસારી નવસારી (History of Naosari, p. 4 ff.).

4 *Ibid.* p. 12.

5 The Diary of William Hedges by Col. Henry Yule, Vol. II 1888), p. CCCXV.

Manock and Dastur Kaikobad Mahyar's Petition and Laudatory Poem.²

Sir Streynsham Master, who was at Surat in 1672 A.C., thus refers to the Parsees and to Naosari and its Fire-temple, in his letter, dated Bombay, January 18, 1672: "At the said place of Nausaree thear Chief Priests reside, where tis said they have their Holy Fire which they brought³ (with) them from their owne Country and is never to goe out. They Keepe it soe constantly supplied; they had a Church in Surratt; but the Tumultuous Rabble of the Zelott Moors destroyed and tooke it from them when they were furious on the Hindooes. They have severall buryall Places here abouts, which are built of Stone in the wide feilds, wherein they lay the dead Bodys exposed to the open air soe that the Ravenous fowles may and doe feed upon them."⁴

Monseratte refers to the Parsees of Naosari but his account of them is unintelligible, because he seems to have mixed them up with the Hindus of the place. Anquetil du Perron, while speaking of Naosari in his time (1760 A.C.), says that the country round the town was much infested with monkeys who came to the town and carried away children.

The first known Parsee, who had entered into the service of the Mogul Emperors, was from Naosari, and he was a member of the family of Changa Shah referred to in

1 *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part IV, pp. 254-55.

2 "Dastur Kaikobad Mahyar's Petition and Laudatory Poem addressed to Jehangir and Shah Jahan" (1930), pp. 115-16.

3 It was not the sacred Fire that they brought from Persia, but the sacred *dlat* (دلات), i.e., requisites or materials, required to prepare and consecrate the sacred Fire.

4 The Diary of William Hedges, by Col. Henry Yule, printed for the Hakluyt Society, Vol. II (1888), p. CCCXV.

our Qisseh. It seems that, when Humayûn conquered Naosari in 1535 A.C., from the direction of Surat, he visited the town and took from there Manock bin Changa, a son of Changa Shah, with him in his service.¹

Though, according to the Qisseh, the Parsees began to disperse from Sanjan in different directions and among them to Naosari in 1090 A.C., they settled in large numbers at Naosari a little later on. It was in 1142 that, finding that the Parsee population had much grown in number, they sent for a priest from Sanjan to attend to their religious wants. Kâmdin Jarthosht was the first Parsee priest, who went from Sanjan and settled at Naosari with his family.

It is this *Pâr nadi* (Rud-i-Pâr) that has given to an adjoining village its name *Pârdi*, which
 14. Rud-i Pâr, c. 207. is the contraction of *Pâr-nadi* (i.e., *Pâr river*). There are several places bearing the name *Pârdi* in the country between Surat and the village of *Pârdi* on the *Pâr river*. The village of *Pârdi*, near this river, is known as *Badwada Pârdi* or *Valsad Pârdi*. For the above different villages bearing the name *Pârdi*, *vide* my Appendix in the Gujarati History of the Seth Family by the late Mr. Shapurji K. Hodivala.² *Pârdi* is referred to by Anquetil du Perron as *Paori*.³

The portion of the river at its mouth is known more than the river itself. It is spoken of as
 15. Rud-i Dan-tora, c. 207. *Dantora ni Khâri* (દાંટોરાની ખારી). It formed a part of the Naosari *Panthak*.

1 For further particulars about Naosari and of its position as a fort and as a port, *vide* my "Dastur Kaikobad Mahyar's Petition and Laudatory Poem, addressed to Jehangir and Shah Jahan," p. 115.

2 "શેઠ ખાનદાનની તવારીખ", ૭૫૫વી પ્રગટ કરનાર શેઠ કાવસજી બલદ-ભાઈ શેઠ, વધારા p. 21.

3 Zend Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre, Vol. I, Partie I, p. 34.

We find a reference to it in a document dated 25th November 1543, whereby the Naosari Mobads and the Sanjan Mobads jointly sent a priest to officiate in the country between Rud-i Pâr and the Rud-i Dantora. He and his successors were to enjoy all the income from the sacerdotal work, but they were to send to Naosari Rs. 1½ for every marriage in their jurisdiction at which they officiated.¹ The river of Dantura is the Naddi de Gantora of Anquetil du Perron.²

The small town of Bariâv (or Variâv) is situated on the right bank of the river Tapti at about 12 miles from Surat. It is well known among the Parsees now as the place of a massacre of Parsee women at the hands of the neighbouring Hindus. I have explained at some length the question whether the tradition of the massacre is correct or not in my paper entitled "A Note on the 'Parsee Massacre at Variav,'" in the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute.³ I had the pleasure of visiting this place in December 1931 when I found that now-a-days there is only one Parsee house there.

Deh-i Bulsar is modern Valskâr or Bulsâr. It is Varsal of Anquetil du Perron, who speaks of the *Naddi* (river) of Varsal. Our Qisseh refers to the event of Sanjan passing into the hands of the Portuguese and to that of the Sanjan priests asking for the transfer of Bulsar from the jurisdiction of Naosari to that of their own. The desire for this transfer was due to their desire to quit Sanjan, because the Portuguese, who now came into the possession of the

1 *Parsi Prakash*, Vol. I, p. 8.

2 *Zend Avesta*, Vol. I, Partie I, p. 383.

3 *Vide* No. 1, p. 17. *Vide* my "Cama Oriental Institute Papers," pp. 47-49. ; .

country, were intolerant in the matter of allowing the natives of the places, they conquered, or acquired, to follow their creed freely. (a) Several Portuguese documents, (b) the writing of the traveller Goez (A.C. 1650), (c) Parsi tradition, (d) a statement of Khafi Khan in his *Muntakhab-ul Lobāb*, all these support the reference to the intolerance of the Portuguese.¹

Bahrūt is the name of a mountain about fourteen miles on the south of Sanjan. It is 1760 ft. high
 18. Kuh-i Ba- from sea-level. It is approached from several neighbouring villages. I had the pleasure of visiting it twice. Once in May 1900 when I climbed it from the direction of Dahanu, a sea-coast town where I had gone for a change.² My second visit, about 10 years ago, was from the direction of Sanjan itself, where I had gone in connection with the Jashan. held there on the occasion of the opening of the Memorial Column, which, with the kind help of my Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet and other sympathisers of the movement, I had the pleasure of erecting. The Superintendent of the Archaeological Department, Western India, Poona, has examined the place and he has taken a note of his inspection in the following words:—"About 14 miles from Sanjan, a station on the B. B. & C. I. Railway, and close to the western bank of the river of that name and in the village Khunavada in the Thana District, stands the Sanjan Peak, which commands a distant view of the Arabian sea. Dr. J. J. Modi of Bombay, has been requesting the Department to expose the place on top of the hill for a long time. Accordingly arrangements for clearing the accumulated stuff from the so-called caves have

1 *Vide* my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates," pp. 21-26.

2 For my account of this visit, *vide* the *Jam-e-Jamshed* of 7th June 1900.

been made departmentally. One irregular rock-hewn cell measuring 41'×32'×13'×3" having two rectangular pillars, was cleared. The front well of this cell is lined with masonry of thin old bricks of medium sizes. A flight of steps partly cut in rock and partly built up of the thin bricks leads down to its floor. Other small excavations near by have also been exposed and found them to be water cisterns. The cell was cut as one of the main water cisterns on the hill which was subsequently converted into a room. It is just possible that the room was being used by the Parsis for hiding their sacred Fire when they had been driven from the place where the first band of Parsis had landed after their migration from Iran in the year about 720 A.D.—735 A.D. and took shelter on this hill. Traces of ancient stone walls on three sides of the cisterns are visible in the dense jungle of the Forest Department. Only one wall has been exposed by the partial removal of trees and other vegetations."

The Bombay Gazetteer thus speaks of it:—"Sanjan Rock or St. John's Point, better known as Barut hill, 1760 feet high, stands about fourteen miles south of Sanjan. It begins to rise at about three miles from the shore and from a round central mound slopes gradually to the north and south. It is an important land-mark for sailors, being visible for forty miles in clear weather. In a cave cut out of the rock in the form of a house with windows, doors and pillars, the Parsis hid their sacred Fire when they fled from Sanjan. Bârut is said to have been the residence of one Bhungli Raja, who according to the local story, was so called from his having a magic bungli or bhungal which sounded at his door without any one blowing it".¹

1 Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIV, pp. 304-5.

Prof. S. H. Hodivala refers to some Persian historical writings which refer to this mountain.¹

Bansdâ is the modern town of Bansda, about 40 miles
 19. Bansdâ. c. from Bulsar. It is ruled over now by a
 271. good Hindu Rajput Prince. I remember
 with pleasure and gratitude the kind hospitality of the
 good prince during my visit of the place with a few
 literary friends about 20 years ago. After the long
 interval of nearly 432 years,² we found it difficult to
 ascertain the place where the sacred Fire was.

Surat, though a known place in later times, is not
 mentioned in our Qisseh among the several
 Surat. c. 338. places where the early Parsee settlers
 dispersed in about 1090 A.C. from San-
 jan. The reason seems to be that, at that time, Surat had
 not come to be known as a prosperous place. According
 to what Anquetil du Perron says,³ on the authority of Nur
 Beg, a librarian of the last Soubadar of Ahmedabad, it was
 at this time a mere fishing village. One Suratji, who
 was surnamed Mahigir (*i.e.*, the fish-catcher), paid his dues
 as the headman of the villagers to the Governor of Randar,
 who ruled over the place on behalf of the King of
 'Ahmedabad'. Randar was, at first, the known principal
 place of the district. We learn from Abu Fazl,⁴ that it was
 at Randar, about 3 miles from Surat on the right bank of the

1 *Vide* his paper on the Sack of Sanjan in his "Studies in Parsi History," p. 17.

2 The arrival of the fugitive Parsees with their sacred Fire from Bahrut to Bansda, took place in 1502 A.C. *Vide* for the Table of Events, my book "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates", (1905), pp. 86-88.

3 Zend Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre, Tome I, Partie I.

4 *Vide* his Ain-i Akbari, Calcutta Text, Vol. I, p. 488, ll. 2 and 3.

Tapti river, that Akbar first saw the Parsees living in a town. We read:

وزردشتی کیش از فارس آمده بنگاه ساخته اند زند و
پازند بر خوانند و دخمها بر سازند

Translation:—"The followers of Zoroaster coming from Persia settled here. They follow¹ the teaching of the Zend and Pazend and erect funeral structures."²

Thus, we see that, at that time it was Raner (or Rander) that was known as a town and not Surat. According to Anquetil du Perron, Surat was latterly founded by Mahomed Begada of Ahmedabad at the end of the 15th century, and Khodavandkhan, his Governor at Rander, named it after the above Suratji, the headman of the fishers, because it was his petition to the King for protection against the Portuguese, who carried on their pirateering excursions, that led him to first erect a fort there and to found a new city. Anquetil gives the following chronogram as the inscription on the gate of the fortress, giving the date of its foundation:—"Sadd boud bar sineh djân Feringui in benah." This inscription given by Anquetil in Roman characters, when written in Persian, will run thus:—

صد بود بر سینہ جان فرنگی این بنا

i.e., This building was a hindrance on the breast of the soul of the Portuguese. The Persian line gives, according to the *abjad* system, 931 Hijri, *i.e.*, 1524 A.C., as the date of the erection of the fort. The walls of the town were at first made of earth. Some time after 1666, by which year the town had increased in size and grown into a city, a wall was built round the city. It was Shivaji's sack of Surat in 1664 that led Aurangzeb to direct the erection of

1 Lit. read.

2 Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II, p. 243.

a wall. In about 1708, in the time of Haider Kuli Khan, another wall was built round the city. According to Anquetil, in the time of his stay in Surat (1757-60), the city had 12 gates with guns on its turrets. I have spoken in my paper on Rustam Manock,¹ at some length, about the sack of Sanjan by Shivaji, when the Parsees were saved by Rustam Manock, and about the imposition of the *Jazieh*-tax by Aurangzeb, when also Rustam Manock freed the Parsees from exactions. I have also spoken on Surat as the headquarters of the Parsees in my paper on Dastur Kaikobad.²

It is the town of which Anquetil³ speaks as Songuer.

21. Sungar. c. 464. It is the fort-town of Songhad where, according to Anquetil, Nana, Holkar and Damaji, all three had their officers or residents. Anauro Ekbar (Anandrao Guikwar) commanded the fort. The ladies of the household of his brother Damaji lived there. Songhad and the adjoining villages of Viârâ, Mahavâ and Bardoli have still some Parsee populations. I had the pleasure of touring through these Parsee towns in December 1909 and January 1910.

Udwâreh or Udwârâ is the Odoûori of Anquetil du Perron, who had visited it, on 21st November 1760⁴. He thus describes the Parsee town:—"This town is inhabited

22. Udwâreh. c. 499.

1 "Rustam Manock (1635-1721), the Broker of the English East India Company (1699 A.C.), and the Persian Qisseh of Rustam Manock. A Study" (Journal, B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, New Series—Vol. VI, pp. 1-220.) *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part IV, pp. 155-203).

2 "A Petition in Persian Verse by Dastur Kaikobad of Naosari to Emperor Jehangir. A Study". Journal, K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 13. *Vide* my "Dastur Kaikobad Mahyar's Petition and Laudatory Poem addressed to Jehangir and Shah Jahan" (1930), pp. 104-106.

3 Anquetil du Perron's Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie I, p. 261.

4 Zend Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre, Tome I, Partie I, p. 374.

only by the Parsees. One leaves on the right the houses in the midst of which is the Der-i Meher, which contains the Sacred Fire named Behram. This edifice is covered with a double roof,¹ lined with a panthouse (*i.e.*, a shed standing aslope from the main house). It has not from the exterior a form different from that of other houses.² On the left side of the road is a great pond. On the other side of Udwarā this road is alongside the sea. On the left are situated beautiful cocoanut trees. In the itinerary after the sack of Sanjan by Mahmud Begāda of the priests guarding the sacred fire, together with the Fire, Udwarā was the last place. They settled there in 1742 A.C. A Hindu Prince, then ruling over the place, named Duyé Sāng Rājā, helped the Parsees to settle there.”

Mr. Ramsay, on the authority of what he himself had

1 The Dar-i-Meher (lit. the Dar or House of Mithra) is generally provided with a double roof to let the smoke of the Sacred Fire pass out through the opening between the first and the second roof.

2 This was the case with almost all Fire-temples in India upto a little after the advent of the British when the Pax Britannica gave peace, security and freedom of religion to India. In earlier times, the Parsees, out of fear for any desecration of the Sacred Fire, avoided drawing the attention of non-Parsees to their temples; so, they kept the frontages similar to those of other houses. That is mostly so even now in Persia. The new Fire-temple at Teheran, built about 15 years ago, is now an exception and serves as an instance of the change of feelings in the country in the direction of tolerance of religion. I had the pleasure of visiting the Fire-temple during my visit of Teheran in November 1925. The visit was interesting to me from several points of view, one of which was that, in association with Mr. Behramji Bhicaji Patel and Mr. Jamshedji Pestonji Mistri, Engineer and Architect, I had the pleasure of working in a Committee of which I was the President, for collecting funds for it. During that visit I saw and I learned also from inquiry, that the Zoroastrian priests there also avoided, as far as possible, any special Parsee feature in their dress, so that no attention may be drawn towards them.

heard at Udwarâ from the ruling head priests, says:—
 “After a sojourn of two years at Bulsar, the priests had an interview with the Raja of Mândvi, Durgan Singhji, then residing in his fort at Pardi. Protection was implored and promised and a choice given of certain villages on the sea coast for a residence. At Udwarâ was found a small band of Parsis and a Tower of Silence, and here the fugitives fixed their choice of a resting place. A *sanad* was given them conferring certain privileges and immunities. This is stated to have been in the Samvat year 1799 (A.D. 1742).”¹

Munbai (منبى) is Bombay, which, at the time when our Qisseh was written, was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the priests of Naosari.² I have given, in my article on the Parsees in the “Castes and Tribes of Bombay,”³ a brief account of the arrival of the Parsees in India. I have given a table of the chief events associated with the arrival of the Parsees in Bombay in my Gujarati “Dnyan Prasarak Essays,” Part IV, pp. 1-18.

VII

PERSONAGES MENTIONED IN THE QISSEH.

The first portion of our Qisseh is common with the Qisseh-i-Sanjan. In some places, our author has taken the very wording of the Qisseh-i-Sanjan.⁴ So, in this section, when, at times, I merely say the Qisseh, without specifying any by name, one may understand any one of

1 The *Indian Antiquary* of 5th July 1872, Vol. I, p. 213.

2 Vide my “History of the Parsee Panchayet of Bombay” in Gujarati, in two Vols. Vol. I.

3 “The Castes and Tribes of Bombay,” by R. E. Enthoven, in 3 Vols. Vide the word “Parsi”.

4 Vide, for instance, my “Few Events etc.” *op. cit.*, p. 50.

the Qissehs. When I will say our *Qisseh*, one may understand this present Qisseh, the text and version of which I have given here.

In this section, I will speak of the personages mentioned in the Qisseh. I will speak of them under two heads—

A—Iranian Personages.

B—Indian Personages.

A. IRANIAN PERSONAGES.

I will speak briefly about the personages of Iran, who are historical figures. I will speak of them, mostly in relation to matters, referred to in the Qisseh. These personages are:—

1. Zartusht, c. 29.
2. Pourushasp, c. 30.
3. Sam, c. 59.
4. Gushtasp, c. 60.
5. Jamasp, cc. 60, 63.
6. Kai Khusru, c. 61.
7. Sikandar, c. 87.
8. Ardeshir (Babegan), c. 95.
9. Ardai Viraf, c. 98.
10. Zartusht ibn Behram, c. 99.
11. Shapur, c. 90 of Qisseh-i-Sanjan.
12. Adarbad Marespand, c. 91 *ibid*.
13. Yazdegerd, cc. 102-3.

The first event, referred to, while speaking of Zartusht Spitamān (Zarathushtra 'Spitama), is that of his laughing on birth (shud khandeh ruyadh)—an event considered to be miraculous and as one striking terror into the hearts of the wicked. This

1. Zartusht¹
Asfantman, c. 29.
(a) The Miracle
of child Zoroaster
laughing at birth.

1 Vide Zarathushtra in my "Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names," p. 86.

tradition is referred to in some Pahlavi¹ and Persian books.² The Dinkard says:—"Pavan Zarhunashnè barà khandid," i.e., He laughed at birth. The Persian Zartusht-nâme³ speaks of this event as the first miracle (m'ajazah-aval) of Zoroaster.⁴

1 Dinkard, Bk. V, 2, 5; Bk. VII, 3, 2, 25. Zâdsparam, Ch. XIV 12 and 16. West, S.B.E., Vol. XLVII, pp. 35, 41, 123, 142, 143. Vide Jackson's Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, pp. 27-28.

2 (a) Zartusht-nâme^h of Zartusht Behram of Poydû, c. 187 (be khandid chûn shûd ze mâdar judâ). Rosenberg's "Le Livre de Zoroastre," Text p. 10. Translation p. 9. (b) Dabistan, by David Shea and Anthony Troyer, Vol. 1, p. 219.

3 Rosenberg's Zartusht-nâme^h, *op. cit.*, p. 10, l. 3.

4 For the life of Zoroaster, more or less full, *vide* the following:—

(a) K. R. Cama's Jarthosht-nâme^h in Gujarati (જરથોશ્ત નામું).

(b) Dastur Peshotan B. Sanjana's "Life of Zoroaster" in Gujarati, as based on the Persian Zarthosht-nâme^h (પેગામ્બર સાહેબ અરો. જરથોશ્તના જન્મારાનો અહેવાલ).

(c) Spiegel's "Eranische Alterthumskunde," Vol. I, Bk. II, Ch. II, translated by Dastur Dr. Darab P. Sanjana, under the title of the "Age of the Avesta and Zoroaster."

(d) Menant's "Zoroastre, Essai sur la Philosophie Religieuse de la Perse."

(e) Jackson's "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran."

(f) Anquetil du Perron's "Vie de Zoroastre" in his "Zend Avesta Ouvrage de Zoroastre," Tome I, Partie II, pp. 1-70.

(g) Sheriarji D. Bharucha's "A Brief Sketch of the Zoroastrian Religion and Customs."

(h) Dr. Geldner's article on Zoroaster in Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. 24, ,

(i) Dastur Darab P. Sanjana's "Zarathushtra in the Gathas and in the Greek and Roman Classics" translated from the German of Drs. Geiger and Windischmann.

(j) Dr. West's Translation from the Pahlavi Zartusht-nâme^h in Dinkard, S.B.E., Vol. XLVII.

(k) My Gujarati "Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names" અવસ્તેતીનિ વિશેષ નામોની ફરહુગ Word Zarathushtra.

Among foreign writers, Pliny refers to this event. We read in Pliny:—"We find it stated that Zoroaster was the only human being who ever laughed on the same day on which he was born."¹ Pliny then added:—"We hear too that his brain pulsed so strongly that it repelled the hand when laid upon it, a presage of his future wisdom."²

The Scandinavian Edda refers to this miraculous event. The writer, taking Zoroaster to be one of the builders of the Tower, of Babel, says:—"He who was the foremost (builder of the tower) was called Zoroaster; he laughed before he cried when he came into the world."³

This traditional story of the laughter of child Zoroaster on birth, referred to even by a foreign writer like Pliny, seems to reflect the beautiful poetic idea of the whole Nature, having been glad and rejoiced, and, as it were, laughing, on the birth of Zoroaster, expressed in the Farvardin Yasht. We read:—"Yêhê Zanthaêcha vakhshaêcha urvâçen âpô urvarâoscha: Yêhê Zanthaêcha, vakhshaêcha ukhshin âpo urvarâoscha: Yêhê Zanthaêcha vakhshaêcha ushtatâtem nimravant vispao Spento-dâtâo dâmân",⁴ i.e., "In whose (i.e., Zoroaster's birth and progress), the waters and the trees gladdened: in whose

(i) My Gujarati "History of the Zoroastrian Religion" જરથોસ્ત્રી ધર્મની તવારીખ, Chap. V, pp. 43-93.

(iii) My Gujarati lecture on "A few thoughts suggested by the Life of Zoroaster" (પેગામ્બર જરથોસ્ત્રીની જીવન ઉપરથી ઉપજતા થોડાંક વિચારો) in my Gujarati "Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects," Part I.

1 Pliny's "Natural History," Bk. VII, Chap. XV. Bostock and Riley's Translation (1855), Vol. II, p. 155.

2 Ibid.

3 Jackson's "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran", p. 286.

4 Yt. XIII, 93.

birth and progress, the waters and the trees increased: in whose birth and progress, all the creatures of Spentâ-mino (the good spirit) voiced shouts of welcome". The whole Nature shouted joy, saying: "Ushtâ no zâto Âthrva yô Spitâmô Zarathushtrô," i.e., "Hail (or thanks to God) that an Athravan (a priest) like Spitama Zarathushtra is born for us."

Our author then speaks of the visit of Zoroaster to the Court of God for a period of ten years (be mândeh nazd-i Haq deh sâl ân râd, c. 42). The older Qisseh, the Qisseh-i-Sanjan, does not speak of it. According to the Pahlavi books, Zoroaster had, at the age of thirty, his first inspired revelation. As counted by Dr. West, on the basis of the traditional date of Zoroaster flourishing about 300 years before Alexander, this year comes to B.C. 630.¹ These years of inspired divine revelation were ten, wherein Zoroaster had, as it were religious or meditative conferences with Ahura Mazdâ and His Amesha Spentâs. Our Qisseh has turned these 10 years of Divine Meditation into a visit to the Court of God, where the prophet is said to have learnt his Zend and Avesta (c. 44) and to have visited Heaven and Hell.

Both the Qissehs simply say that Zoroaster presented himself in the Court of Gushtâsp in Iran. They do not name the place of the interview. But we learn from other sources, that Zoroaster was born in the east in Azarbaizan and that he declared his religion in the west in the court of the King in Bactria (Balkh). This explains why some classical

(c) The Country
of Zoroaster's
interview with
Gushtasp. cc.
58-60.

1 S.B.E., Vol. XLVII, Introduction, s. 35. West gives an interesting Calendar of Dates beginning from the very beginning, the very first millennium 9630 B.C., to the end of the final millennium 2398 A.C.

writers speak of him as Median and others as Bactrian.

As to Zoroaster's own birth-place, there has been a great diversity of opinion, about 20 places claiming the honour of being his birth-place.¹ In my paper on "The Birth-place of Zoroaster"², I have discussed the question at full length and have shown that Zoroaster's birth-place was Âmvi or Âmui, a village about 12 miles from the city of Urumiah on the lake Urumiah (Avesta Chaechasta) in Azarbaizan (Âtarô-pâtkân). I have identified the place from my study of the Pahlavi treatise of Shatroihâ-i-Airân, as Zoroaster's birth-place. On my return to India from Europe *via* Russia, where I was kindly invited by its Academy of Sciences, when it celebrated its bi-centenary in 1925, I passed through Persia and had the pleasure of visiting, with some hardship, in the kind and hospitable company of the Hakim (Governor) of Urumiah, H. E. Haji Alikhan Bahadur, this village of Âmvi on the 8th of October 1925.³

I consider the above day (8th October 1925) as one of the most useful days of my life, as being the day, when I visited the village, which I had determined in my studies as the birth-place of my revered dear Prophet Zoroaster. From what I saw and heard there, I convinced myself, that it was the place referred to in the Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i-Airân. I am much gratified to find, that this result of my humble studies and travels has been, since then, confirmed by two scholars, who can, on account of their visits of the

1 For the names of these 20 places, *vide* my paper "The Birth-place of Zoroaster" (Journal, K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 9, pp. 1-113. *Vide* my "Cama Oriental Institute Papers" (1928), pp. 129-241.

2 *Ibid.*

3 For an account of my visit, *vide* (a) my above paper S. XIV, pp. 237-239 of my book, *op. cit.*, and (b) my "Book of Travels" (પ્રવાસ બહારની સેહેલ) in 101 letters. Letter No. 64, pp. 304-309,

place prior to and after my visit and their studies, speak with authority on the subject. One such scholar is Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson of America, who had visited, ere I went there, Urumiah, but who then did not know anything of the above village of Âmvi.

Prof. Jackson thus speaks on this subject:—"It is now interesting to append that I believe that the location of Âmui has since been definitely determined by my old friend Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. When I last saw him in Bombay, in the spring of 1926, he told me that during his travels in Persia, the preceding year, he actually found a small village still called Âmvi (cf. Phl. Âmui), situated about twelve miles distant from Urumia in the old Atropatene territory. He made a pious but difficult pilgrimage to the village, where he observed many stones, that indicated the ruined site of a once large town. Local tradition supported the view as to the greater size of the place in ancient days, while one ruin on an elevation in the vicinity bears the name Gaor-tapah, 'the Hill of the Gabrs' and shows that we have to do with what was once a Zoroastrian site. After returning to India he delivered a lecture to the Parsis on the subject—I may add that this lecture later developed into an elaborate monograph on the general question of 'The Birth-place of Zoroaster', since published in the *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, No. 9, pp. 1-113, Bombay, 1927. The last five pages (pp. 109-113) are devoted especially to Âmvi (Âmui)."¹

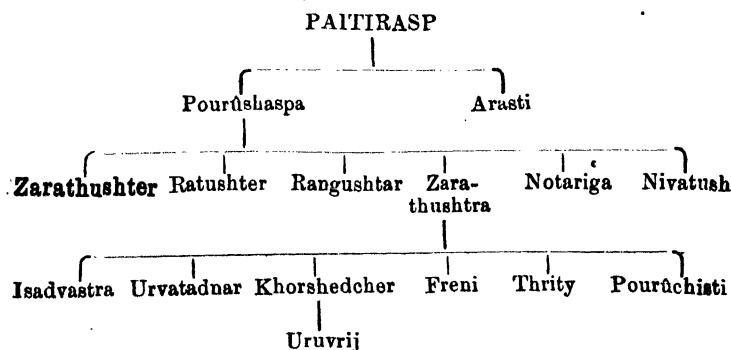
The second scholar, I refer to, is Mr. Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, M.A., of Bombay, who, after reading and hearing of my above discovery, went to Urumiah to learn something of the subject. Though he could not go to the very village of Âmui, from what he heard and saw, he got convinced of the correctness of my discovery and

1 *Vide* Jackson's "Zoroastrian Studies" (1928), pp. 267-277.

has twice given expression publicly, in his two speeches in Bombay, to that conviction. I cannot sufficiently well give expression to my thankfulness to Ahura Mazda for making me an humble medium of the discovery of the very birth-place of my Prophet Zoroaster.

The Qisseh-i Sanjan says that, 300 years after the event of Zoroaster introducing his religion in the Court of King Gustasp, Alexander came to Iran and devastated the religion (ba sê sad sâl in din khâr Gashteh p, c. 84). Our Qisseh does not give the period in years, but simply says that several years (chandin sâl, c. 87) passed in this way. We here see, that the Qisseh-i-Sanjan follows the Pahlavi writers and gives the date of the promulgation of the religion of Zoroaster to be about 300 years before the invasion of Persia by Alexander the Great.

Porûshaspa, the Pourûshaspa of the Avesta (Yasna IX), was the father of Zoroaster. Our Qisseh says, that Providence (qudrat) had created him, so that, from him Zoroaster may be born. The Yaçna¹ points to him as the father of Zoroaster. The following table presents a genealogical tree of the family:—



1 Hom Yt., Yaçna, Chap. IX, 13.

The hand of Providence in this matter seems to be perhaps this: Zoroaster's mother was Dughdô.¹ She was the daughter of one Frahimvâ. She was also called Zishan (𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬎), i.e., of the family of Zish.² In the Vendidad,³ Zoroaster is spoken of as the son of the mother of this Zavishi family. The Pahlavi Zish is the Zavish of the 'Avesta. Her parents were of Rae. It is said that, as an would-be mother of a coming prophet, she had begun to show some "miraculous nimbus or Glory".⁴ That had led her villagers—and among them even her father—to suspect that she was bewitched. To avoid much talk about his daughter in his village, the father sent her away to the village where Pourûshaspa lived. There, she happened to marry Pourushasp. Thus, it was, as it were, the hand of Providence, in the transfer of Dughdô to a distant village, where Pourûshasp lived, and in the subsequent marriage. This seems to be qudrat (Nature), the Hand of God referred to by our author. The Âfrin-i Zarthosht (s. 4) explains the meaning of the name Pourushaspa. It says "Pouru-aspem bayâhi yatha Pourushaspem", i.e., "May you have many horses like Pourûshaspa". This blessing shows, that he was so named, because he was the owner of many horses (pouru-aspa).⁵

Zoroaster, in his benediction, prays that the King may be "Strong like Sâm" (nîrumand chûn Sâm). In the Âfrin-i Buzorgân (s. 3), we have the blessing as "Chûn Sâm-i Nariman 'Aôzvânvar bed", i.e., May you be strong like Sâm (the son) of Nariman. He is the Sâma of the Farvardin Yasht,⁶ where he is spoken of as Sama of Kereshaspa. In the

1 Bundeesh, Chap. XXXII, 10.

2 Pahlavi Zarathust-nâme of the Dinkard.

3 Chap. XIX, 6.

4 Jackson's "Zoroastrian Studies," p. 24.

5 Vide my "Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names," p. 86.

6 Yt. XIII, 136.

recital of the names in the Dhup-nirang, Sâ'm is spoken of as the son of Nariman, the son of Keresasp. Firdousi seems to say the same thing. The family of Rustam, the national hero of Iran, runs down from him. His ascending line is carried to Jamshed.¹

He was the Iranian King ruling in Bactria (Balkh), where Zoroaster promulgated his religion. He was to Zoroastrianism, what Constantine was to Christianity and Asoka to Buddhism. He, with his queen and ministers, accepted Zoroaster's teaching and became the royal patron of the new religion. It seems, that this acceptance of the new religion of Zoroaster led to his being designated in the Âfrin-i Zarthosht (s. 2) as *ashô*, i.e., righteous.

According to Maçoudi, the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar, who came to throne in about B.C. 606 and who conquered Jerusalem, was a general of Lohrasp, the father of Gushtasp.² He says "Plusieurs auteurs bien instruits de l'histoire de la perse prétendant que Bokht-Nasur (Nebuchadnezzar) fut le *merzeban* (مرزبان) de Bohràsp (Lohràsp) dans l'Irak et l'occident, qu'il envahit la Syrie prit Jerusalem et emmena les Israélites en captivité³ (i.e., Several authors, well instructed in the history of Persia, dare to say that, Bokht-Nassar (Nebuchadnezzar) was the Marzban (frontier officer) of Bohrasp (Lohrasp), in Irak and in the West, that he invaded Syria, took Jerusalem, and carried the Israelites in captivity). Tabari also says, that Nebuchadnezzar was a general of Gushtasp's father Lohrasp. This conquest of Jerusalem is referred to in the

1 *Vide* my "Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names," p. 188.

2 *Vide* Vishtaspa in my "Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names," p. 175.

3 Maçoudi, traduit par Barbier de Meynard, I, p. 117.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 121-22.

Pahlavi Minokherad. There, it is spoken of as a conquest by Lohrasp; and Nebuchadnezzar's name, as his general, is not mentioned. But, that seems to be a small matter. In many a case, it is the king, who is mentioned as a conqueror, and not his general. The Mino-Kherad says of Lohrasp:

𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥

𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥

(Aurisilam-i-Yahudân barâ afrûnt va Yahudân vashufté vâ pargandeh kard), i.e., He (Lohrasp) destroyed the Jerusalem of the Jews and dispersed and scattered the Jews.

The above statements of Maçoudi and Tabari are indirectly supported by the Pahlavi Mino-Kherad, from the point of view of Zoroaster's date, referred to in the Qisseh and referred to by Pahlavi writers. They place the time of Lohrasp, the father of Gushtasp, in whose court, Zoroaster promulgated his religion, in the 7th century B.C. In this connection, let us also bear in mind, the event mentioned, by classical writers and supported by Biblical history, viz., that Cyrus, the founder of the Achæmenian Empire when he came to power and conquered Babylon, restored to the Jews, the Yahudân of the Pahlavi Minokherad, their temple, which was destroyed, and returned all its religious ceremonial requisites, which were carried away by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon.

We gather the following statements from the above

1 *Vide* Dastur Dr. Darab P. Sanjana's Text, p. 47. Chap. XXVII. *Vide* Ervad Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria's Pahlavi, Pazend and Sanskrit Texts with my Introduction, p. 93; West, S.B.E., XXIV, p. 65. *Vide* Dr. Louis H. Gray's article "Kai Lohrasp and Nebuchadnezzar" in *Weiner Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* of 1904, pp. 291-98.

data supplied by the Arab, Pahlavi and Biblical writers:—

(1) Nebuchadnezzar was a general of King Lohrasp, the father of Gushtasp, the royal patron of Zoroaster. He, as Lohrasp's general, conquered Palestine. So, it seems that his Babylonian dynasty was contemporary to the Kayanian dynasty of Lohrasp.

(2) Cyrus, the founder of the Achæmenian dynasty, conquered Babylon, and, with his coming to power over Jerusalem, restored to the Jews, the ceremonial utensils etc. of the Jewish temple of Jerusalem.

(3) So, (a) the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar, (b) the Iranian Lohrasp, and his son Gushtasp, and their prophet Zoroaster, (c) and the Achæmenian Cyrus were contemporaries or well-nigh contemporaries within a century—the 7th and the 6th century B.C.

These data lead us to draw the following conclusions:—

- (1). They support the Parsee Pahlavi writers who place Zoroaster about 300 years before Alexander, *i.e.*, in the 7th century B.C.
- (2) They seem to say that the later Kayanian King Gushtasp, his son Asfandiyar, Bahman, the son of Asfandiyar, and the Achæmenian King Cyrus were well-nigh contemporaries.

Anyhow, the Arab writers support the Pahlavi writers, and the Pahlavi writers support the Arab writers, to say that Vishtasp and Zoroaster lived in the 7th century B.C.

The question of the date of Vishtasp is connected with that of the date of Zoroaster. It seems that the last word is not yet said on the whole subject. But, for the present, one may perhaps say that there may be two Zoroasters as said by some classical writers and even by one or two Parsi

Even the Arab authors differ as to whether Nebuchadnezzar was a general of Lohrasp, or of his great-grandson Bahman. Masudi says that Nebuchadnezzar was a general of Bahman. Bahman reigned in Balkh and that Cyrus (کوروش Kurush) ruled in Iraq as his general. Again, Masudi says that some writers represent Cyrus as a king independent of Bahman and his family. However in the midst of the labyrinth of the above various statements (a) about Lohrasp and his successors (Gushtasp, Asfandyar and Bahman), (b) about Nebuchadnezzar not being an independent ruler—ruler independent of Lohrasp and his family, (c) about Cyrus being, according to one account, a general of Lohrasp's family and, according to another account, an independent king, at the bottom of these various statements what we see, is that dependent or independent (a) Lohrasp and his immediate heirs, (b) Nebuchadnezzar and his early successors, and (c) Cyrus and his early successors were very well-nigh contemporaries. So, the date of Zoroaster, who lived in the time of Gushtasp, was not in the hoary antiquity referred to by some classical writers but in the 7th century B.C., about 300 years, as said by Pahlavi writers, before the time of Alexander.

5. Jamasp. cc. , Jamasp of Hvôva (ጋራ-ጋራ) 60, 63.

'Aparozata (අපරොසත) යනු අපරොසතයෙකු Far.
Yt. 127), i.e., Jaspas the Younger (lit. born later). It is the

1 "Journal of a Residence in India" by Maria Graham (1813),
p. 36.

former, who is referred to in our Qisseh. In the Gatha also, he is called Jamasp of Hvôva (Yt. XLV, 17: LI, 18) as he belonged to the Hvôva family. I have spoken of him at full length in the Introduction to my Jamaspi.¹ He is the Khanâs of Maçoudi.² His name is commemorated like that of Ardeshir Babekân, in the Afrin-i Rapithavin (s. 3).

Kai Khusru is the Kavi Husrava of the Avesta. He reigned in Iran just before Lohrasp
 6. Kai Khusru. referred to above. His father Siavakhsh,
 c. 61. was murdered by his father-in-law, the Turanian King Afrasiab, under the fear that one day he, as an Iranian King, may deprive him of his Turanian throne. He is said to have retired from the world after taking his vengeance over his maternal father Afrasiab for the death of his father Siavakhsh. His renunciation of the world is compared to that of Yudhisthira in the Mahabharat. Prof. Darmesteter thought that the Indian story of the renunciation of Yudhisthira was taken from that of the Iranian story of Kai Khusru.³

Our author speaks at some length scathingly about the rule of Alexander over Iran. He speaks
 7. Iskander. c. of him as a knave or swindler (makhâro,
 87. c. 88) and as one who oppressed the people so much, as no other king had done. On account of all the mischief that Alexander the Great did to Iran, he is spoken by Pahlavi writers, as gazastê, i.e., cursed. I have spoken at great length on this subject in my paper "Alexander the Great and the Destruction of the Ancient Literature of the Parsees at his hands", read before

1 *Vide* my Pahlavi Translation, Part II, Jamaspi, Introduction pp. XXVIII-XXXV.

2 Macoudi, par Barbier de Meynard, etc. II, p. 127.

3 *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S."

the Second Oriental Conference at Calcutta.¹ It is said, that his teacher Aristotle prevented him from killing the nobility of Iran. We learn this from Dastur Tansar's letter to Jasnafshâh, the King of Tabaristan,² the original Pahlavi of which is lost. Our author speaks of the duration of the rule of his cyde (daur), *i.e.*, of the Greek rule over Persia, as 300 years (c. 93). We do not know how he arrives at that period.

This Ardeshir is Ardeshir Babegân, the founder of the Sasanian Empire. The fall of Iran and
 8. Ardeshir. c.
 95. its religion had begun with the conquest of the country by Alexander. A revival of the Zoroastrian religion was begun by the Parthian King Vulkias (Vologeses), but it was Ardeshir, who may be properly said to be the founder of the Iranian Renaissance after Alexander. It is for this reason, that his name is commemorated in the Âfrin-i Rapithvin, wherein the services of some great and good Iranian worthies are commemorated. We read there (s. 10): "Hamâ zôr Frohar-i Ardeshir Babekân bâd avâ hamâ Frohar-i Ârastârân Virâstârân Vinâstârân-i din-e Khoda-i bâd," *i.e.*, "May there be Hamâ zor³ with (*i.e.*, May we be one with) the Holy Spirit of Ardeshir Babegân, and may there be hamâ zor with the spirits of those, who glorify, adorn and look to the progress of the religion of God." The above-

1 *Vide* my "Oriental Conference Papers," pp. 58-116.

2 For the Persian Text and Translation of this letter by Darmesteter, *vide* Journal Asiatique, Neuvieme Serie, Tome III, Mars-Avril 1894, pp. 185-250: Mai-Juin 1894, pp. 502-555. *Vide* my "Glimpse into the Work of the B.B.R.A. Society," pp. 33-34 *Vide* my article on "Alexandria and its Library" in the *East and West* of October 1904, Vol. III, No. 36.

3 *Vide* for this word my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 405-7.

mentioned letter of the Dastur and Prime Minister of Ardeshir to Jasnafshah, the King of Tabaristan, who objected to some of the renovations of Ardeshir, gives us a good idea of the efforts of Ardeshir towards the Iranian Renaissance.¹

Our author refers to the vision of Ardai Viraf, in the reign of Ardeshir Babegan. Ardai Viraf
 9. Ardai Viraf. was a great divine in the reign of this
 c. 98. king. In the matter of the vision of Heaven and Hell by him, we have many points of similarity between Dante's vision in his Divine Comedy and in the vision of the Irish saint St. Adamnain. I have treated the subject of this comparison in my three papers,² viz., (1) "An Iranian Precursor of Dante and an Irish Precursor of Dante", (2) "An account of the Irish Visionary, his Book of Vision, and his Vision"; and (3) "A Few Points of striking resemblances between the Iranian and Irish visions".

This personage, whom our author represents as the author, who described Ardai Viraf's
 10. Zarthust-ibn vision, was the author of several Persian
 Behram. c. 99. treatises. His Persian Viraf-nâmeḥ is based upon the Pahlavi Viraf-nâmeḥ.³ His other well-known work in Persian, is the life of Zoroaster.⁴ He seems to be the author of several Persian treatises.

1 For some particulars about the king, as given by Firdousi, vide in my Gujarati "Episodes from the Shah Nameh (શાહ નામેહ ઇસ્તાંને)", the dastân (episode) of Ardeshir Babegân.

2 Vide my "Dante Papers", pp. 1-30.

3 Vide "Haug and Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspij Asa's Viraf-nameh," Vide Dastur Kaikhusru Jamasji's Edition.

4 Vide "Le Livre de Zoroastre (Zaratusht-nama) de Zartusht-Behram Ben Pajdô," by M. Frederic Rosenberg (1904 St. Petersburg).

Our Qisseh omits two names, worthy to be mentioned in the history of the Zoroastrian religion. 11. Shapur, c. They are mentioned by the Qisseh-i 90 of Qisseh-i. Sanjan. They are those of Shapur and his prelate Ādarbad Mārespand. The Shapur, mentioned by the Qisseh-i Sanjan, is Shapur II, who ruled for an unusually long period of 70 years, from 309 to 379 A.C. The downfall or commotion in Persia, referred to in the Qisseh-i Sanjan, was that caused by the religion of Mani, who spread tenets, partly of the Christians and partly of the Buddhists. Shapur looked upon Mani's heresy as an offshoot of Christianity and so persecuted the Christians. Some one says that Shapur's persecution of the Christians was more for political purposes than for religious purposes. Prof. E. Rehatsek, in an interesting article on "Christianity in the Persian Dominions, from its beginning till the fall of the Sassanian Dynasty,"¹ thus speaks on the subject:—"The whole persecution.....was chiefly confined to the provinces of Persia for the possession of which Shāpūr contended during a portion of his long reign, namely, to the districts from Edessa down to Ctesiphon, embracing a part of Armenia and the whole of Mesopotamia, so that the Christian martyrs were considered to favour the views of their Roman co-religionists, and to be disloyal to the Persian Government; accordingly they were liable to be persecuted on that score, which would considerably modify, if not altogether invalidate, the assumption that the persecution was exclusively of a religious character."² James Bird, in one of his papers,³ says, on the authority of the

1 Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII, pp. 18-108. *Vide* for a summary of this article my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S.," pp. 82-89.

2 *Ibid.* p. 39.

3 "Observations on the Bactrian and Mithraic Coins, in the cabinet of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society," Vol. I, pp. 293-302.

Rajatarangini,¹ that in about 319 A.C. Ajax and Makran were ruled over by Shriman Hersha Vikramaditya and that this Vikramaditya was the same as Shapur II; and that he had "instituted persecution against the Manichaeans and Christians throughout his dominions". Bird further thinks that "this fresco-painting in a niche of the second idol of the caves of Bamian" belong to the time of the above "Shriman Hersha Vikramaditya of Kashmir History who destroyed the Sakas" and whom he identifies with Shapur II of Iran.²

Our Qisseh follows, as said above, the Qisseh-i Sanjan.

12. *Âdarbad Mârespand.* But while doing so, and describing the course of the Iranian Renaissance, founded

by Ardeshir Babegân, it omits one name, mentioned by the Qisseh-i Sanjan, as that of a person taking an active part in the Renaissance,³ so begun. The Pahlavi writers, who speak of this renaissance, also mentions this name. It is that of Âdarbad Mârespand. So, I will speak of him here as his name seems to have been inadvertently omitted by our author. He flourished in the reign of Shapur (Dayan Khudaih-i valman-i Shapuhar, malakân malikâ Auhurmazdiyan⁴, i.e., in the reign of that Shapur King of kings who was (the son of) Auhurmazd). This Shapur is Shapur II. Dastur Peshotan B. Sanjana takes him to have flourished in the reign of Hormuzd, the son of Shapur I. He says: "इस्तुरीन इस्तुर आदरबाद मारस्पंद सासानी राजने पायेयो नाथ-नार, ये वडंसना पेहलला पादशाह अरहेशेर बायेकानना नथीरा होरम-

1 *Vide* "Radjatarangini, Histoire des Rois du Kashmir," traduit par M. Troyer, Tome III (1852), pp. 43-353.

2 Jour. B. B. R. A. S., I., p. 296.

3 C. 91 of the Qisseh-i Sanjan.

4 *Vide* "Haug and Dastur Hoshangji: Asa's Ardai Viraf Nameh", p. 144.

જાદ શાહપુરના વખતમાં થઈ ગીઓ છે.” (Ganj-i Shayagân, Gujarati Preface, p. 15, ll. 4-5). Dastur Peshotan seems to have read valman as henman Dayan Khudâeh-i benman Shapuhar malkani malaka Anhomayân (or Ahuramazdiân). He is said to have had a great hand in the Renaissance of Zoroastrian religion began by Ardeshir Babegân. He is believed to be the author of the following writings:—

- (1) Patet Pashemâni (*i.e.*, the Prayer of Repentance), which, at times, is spoken of as the Patet of Âdarbad Mârespand.
- (2) Doâ Nâm Setâyashne.
- (3) Âfrin-i Gâhmbâr.¹
- (4) Andarz-i Âtarpât Marespandân.

Our Qisseh speaks of his having performed some miracles for the spread of Zoroastrianism. One of such miracles is known as that of Var-i Nirang,² *i.e.*, “Nirang (or religious celebration) on the breast (var, Av. 𐬵𐬀𐬶𐬭𐬀, Sans. उरस् Pahl. 𐬰𐬀, Pers. ور or بر bar, breast). In the miracle he is said to have poured upon his breast, melted copper ‘ru-i-vatākhto’ which did him no harm (mûn patash ru-i vatākhte madam var rikht)³.

In this matter of such a miracle, Âdarbad was, as it were, as said by Darmesteter,⁴ the happy precursor of Savonarola.⁵

1 The Ganj-i Shayagan by Dastur Peshotan Byramji Sanjana (1885), Gujarati Preface, p. 15.

2 Viraf-nameh, I 16.

3 Darmesteter (Zend Avesta, Premier Volume, La Liturgie, p. 227, n. 15) sees in the word çazdouhvatbya in the Gathas (Gatha Ahunavaiti, Yt. XXI, 2) the origin of the var-nirang.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498), a Dominican Friar, lived in Florence with the career of a patriot-priest. Just as Âdarbad Mârespand was associated with Iranian Renaissance, he was associated with Italian Renaissance. There has prevailed a great controversy round

The death of Yazdagard, the last of the Sasanian kings, at the hands of the Arabs, put an end to the Sasanian Empire. Our Qisseh, like the Qisseh-i Sanjan, gives the dates of various events as occurring so many and so many years after him. In my calculation, I have taken the date of his death, viz., 651, as the date, and given all my calculations based upon that. Mr. Inostransev, thus, supports me in this way of my calculation, which I had first adopted in my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis" (1905). He says: "The point of departure adopted by J. J. Modi in his calculations is quite correct. As the moment, when the power of Yezdegerd was ended, can undoubtedly be considered only the moment of his death, seeing, that, in spite of a series of defeats inflicted on his armies by the Arabs, the power of the last Sasanian, if only a nominal one, was never considered as overthrown before his decease. That has also been acknowledged by the Arab writers, who inform us, that only with his death, the existence of the Persian realm came to its end, and that the Persians begin the new chronology from that particular moment: thus, for instance, Dināverī, relating about the death of Yezdegerd, says:— 'This happened in the 6th year of the Caliphate of Osman.

his doctrines. While some took him as a reformer, "as an enlightened precursor of the Reformation," others took him as "a fanatic bent on the revival of mediæval barbarism". He is said to have read the Arab commentaries of Aristotle. He had a long life of varied activity. The miracle of fire-ordeal, with which his name was associated, though not directly, was this. Having made many enemies by his moral preachings and views, one day he was challenged, by a Franciscan friar, belonging to his enemies' camp, to prove the truth of his doctrine by the ordeal of fire. Though personally opposed to accept the challenge, he was, as it were, forced to do so, by one of his esteemed followers, Fra Dominico. The ordeal was not carried out, but, in the end, after a long wrangling, he was put to death (Encyclopædia Brit., 9th Edition, Volume XXI, pp. 333-39).

i.e. in the 30th year of the Hijra: it was then, that the independent existence of the Persian realm came to its end, and up to the present do the Persians base their chronology on the 'date of this event' (Kitâb-al-ahbâr-at-tiwal, ed. W. Guirgass, 149). According to Tabari's information. Yezdegerd was buried in Istakhr at the beginning of 31 A. H. (Annales I, 2872) that event has to be put in A.D. 651 and any chronological calculations have to start from that date.'¹

II—INDIAN PERSONAGES, MENTIONED IN THE QISSEH.

I will now speak of the following personages of India, mentioned in the Qisseh, in the order of the couplets in which their names occur:—

1. The Indian King or Ruler of Sanjan, Jadi Rana or Jae Rana.
2. Sultan Mahmud.
3. Alaf Khan.
4. The Commander of the Parsees (Ardashir) in the Hindu king's battle with Alaf Khan.
5. Chângâ Shâh bin Âsâ.
6. Nagan Râm.
7. Khorshed Kâmdin.
8. Chândnâ Sâyer.
9. The Nawab of Surat (Salâbat Khan).
10. Modi, Kuverji.
11. Mobad Minocher Homji.
12. Desai Khurshedji.
13. Gangâji Râo (Gaikwar).

1 Article, headed "The Emigration of the Parsis to India and the Musulman World in the Middle of the VIII Century" Journal, K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 1, p. 36.

14. Damaji Rao.
15. Raja Durgah Sing.
16. Dastur Sohrab.
17. Dastur Mahyâr Meherji Rana.
18. Shah Akbar.
19. Dastur Burjo, son of Darab.
20. Dastur Jamshed Jamasp.
21. Dastur Manock Jamshed.
22. Desai Tehmur.
23. Desai Minocheher.
24. Nusserwanji, son of Bahman.
25. Rustam Manock.
26. Sohrab.
27. Darab Seth.
28. Minocher Khurshedji Seth.
29. Dastur Darab.
30. Desai Jivan Manock.
31. Râo Kerdârji.
32. Shapur Manock Behram (the author himself).
33. Neryosang Dhaval.

The King of Sanjan, to whom the first emigrants went, is named *Jadi Rana*. He is not named, at first, in our *Qisseh*, but is simply spoken of as "*Râe Râyân*" (c. 151), *i.e.*, *Râe* of *Râes* or King of Kings in the old Iranian way of *Shâhân Shâh* or *Malekân Malek*, corresponding to the later Indian *Maharajaraja*, *i.e.*, the great King of Kings. But, later on, he is spoken of as *Jadi Rana* (c. 180). In the *Qisseh-i Sanjan*, which the author of our *Qisseh* seems to follow, in the very commencement, we find the name as *Jâe Rana* (سر او را نام جای رانه بود). So, the *Jadi Rana* of our *Qisseh* is the *Jâe Rana* of the *Qisseh-i Sanjan*.

The date of the arrival of the Parsees, as ascertained by the number of years of their stay, in various places, before

their arrival at Sanjan, comes to about 785 A.C.¹ Dr. Wilson² and Revd. Dr. A. Fruey³ said he was Jayadeva of Anhilwâd Pâtan, who ruled in Gujarat for 60 years, from 745 to 806 A.C. He was also named Ban-raj or Vanraj. The Âin-i Akbari⁴ gives his name as Sarâj Châwreh (سراج چاوره - شصت سال). He was the founder of the Châwarâ dynasty of Gujarat. Blochmann⁵ says that different manuscripts have different variants of the name. One Ms. gives Bamsraj (بمسرراج) as the name. According to the Âin-i-Akbari, he was at first a highway robber, and then, he became a king.⁶

I think that Jâdi Rana or Jâi Rana is not any proper name, but it is simply a titular name, such as Rao (of Cutch), Gaikwar (of Baroda), Rana (of Porebunder), Jam (of Nawanagar), Nizam (of Hyderabad), Thakore (of Wadhwan), etc. My reason to say so, is this: Had he been the King of Gujarat, before whom the leader of the Parsees had to go to ask for permission to land and stay, the leader would have had to go to Pâtan, about 150 miles from Sanjan. But the Qissch says that the Parsees, no sooner they touched Sanjan, they went before the ruler. So, the name Jâdî Rânâ or Jâi Rânâ may be the titular name of the ruler of the town. Or, if it was at all a proper name, it was the name of the ruler or governor of the town of Sanjan, who ruled there under the King of Gujarat.

1 *Vide my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis", pp. 8-11.*

2 *Journal, B.B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, p. 175.*

3 *Journal, B.B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVI, pp. 74-87.*

4 *Blochmann's Text I, p. 500, col. 1, line 14. Translation by Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 259.*

5 *Ibid. Text I, p. 500, n. 5. Jarrett's Translation, p. 259, n. 2.*

6 *Ibid. Text I, p. 502. Translation II, p. 261. Vide Bird's History of Gujarat (1885), p. 138. Bayley's History of Gujarat (1886), pp. 24-26.*

He is Sultan Mahmud Bigarhâ who reigned in Gujarat from 1459 to 1511 A.C. His ordinary name, at first, was Fateh Khan. He was half-brother to Sultan Kutb-udd-in. When Sultan Dâud Shâh, who succeeded Kutb-udd-in, was found incapable to rule, he was elevated to the throne as Sultan Mahmud. According to the *Mirât-i Sikandari*, "it is said that in the Hindui language, as spoken by the Hindus of Gujarat, they call a bullock *Bigarh*, because its horns stretch out right and left like the arms of a person about to embrace. The moustachios of the Sultan were straight and long like these horns; hence he obtained the cognomen Bigarha. Some say that in Hindui *bi* means two and *garh* a 'fort'. The Sultan took the forts of Junagadh and Champanir and from the conquest of these two forts he was called Bigarh".¹ The *Qisseh-i Sanjan* says:

هميش محمود سلطان خواندندي رعایا ظل سبحان خواندندي²
i.e., They also called him Sultan Muhmud, (His) subjects called him *Zill Subhan*, *i.e.*, the shadow or representative of God. The *Mirât-i Sikandari* calls him *Dinpanâh* (دین پناه) which is something like the title of the English king "Defender of the Faith".³

When our author says that sudden news came to the King of Sanjan that the Mahomedans had come to India (c. 235 که درهند آمده مردان اسلام) the event referred to is the conquest of Champanir by Sultan Mahmud. 'Our author

1 The *Mirât-i Sikandari*, as translated by Bailey (1886) "The Local Mahomedan dynasties—Gujarat," by Sir Edward C. Bayley, p. 161. *Vide* Forbes' *Rasmala*, p. 291.

2 *Vide* my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," p. 227, l. 7. *Vide* R. B. Paymaster's *Kisseh-i-Sanjan*.

3 *Ibid.* p. 161.

does not refer to this special event, but the Qisseh-i Sanjan,¹ which it mostly follows, refers to the conquest of Champanir.

According to the Mirat-i Sikandari, Mahmud Bigarha took the fortress on 2nd of month Zi-l Kadeh of year 889 (i.e., 1484 A.C.)² The Tabakat-i Akbari³ and the Tarikh-i Fireshtā refer to this event.⁴

Hindu bards also refer to this event.⁵ The conquest of Champanir was followed by a general conversion of the people. Attempts in this direction and other oppressive acts led the people to commit their women and children to flames. They preferred their death to their falling into the hands of the Mahomedans. The King of Champanir also

- 1 (I) For the full text of the Qisseh-i-Sanjan in Persian, *vide* (a) Kisseh-i Sanjan, edited by Mr. Rustom Burjorji Paymaster (1915-16) and (b) Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unvala's Lithographed Edition of Darab Hormazdyar's Rivāyet, with my Introduction, Vol. II, pp. 344-54.
- (II) For its English translation, *vide* (a) Journal B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, pp. 167-191, (b) Mr. R. B. Paymaster's Kisseh-i Sanjan, *op. cit.*, (c) Prof. S. H. Hodivala's Translation in his "Studies in Parsi History," pp. 92-177, and (d) for the Text and Translation of a number of important passages, *vide* my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis."
- (III) For its Gujarati Translation, *vide* (a) Framji Aspaudiariji Rabadi's Translation in his Hadesah Nameh (1831). This is reproduced by Mr. R. B. Paymaster in his above work. (b) A translation in Gujarati verse by an anonymous writer (1855). This also is reproduced by Mr. R. B. Paymaster.
- 2 Bayley's History of Gujarat, *op. cit.* p. 210. Munshi Naval Kishore's Litho Edition of 1876, p. 475, ll. 1-5.
- 3 The Litho Edition of 1832, Vol. II, p. 398, ll. 5-8.
- 4 For quotations in the original and other particulars, *vide* my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis," pp. 32-34.
- 5 For its *chappā*, *vide* *ibid.* pp. (34-35).

preferred death. It was in about 1490, *i.e.*, about six years after the conquest of Champanir in 1484, that Sanjan fell into the hands of Sultan Mahmud Bigarha.¹

I know that, as to the date of this Sack of Sanjan, there has been a difference of opinion. Dastur Framji Aspandiarji Rabadi thought, that it was 1507.² Dr. John Wilson³ accepted that date. Mr. B. B. Patel discusses this question in his *Parsi Prakash*⁴ and says that the date may be some date between 1458 and 1468. Prof. S. H. Hodivala has a long paper on the subject⁵ and he takes the year to be 1465 A.C. I have previously examined the question at some length in my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates" (1905) (pp. 31-43) and have come to the conclusion, on the strength of some historical data, that the year of the Sack of Sanjan by Mahmud Bigarha was 1490 A.C. I have looked into the question again, and, notwithstanding all the doubts thrown upon the date by Prof. Hodivala, I still stick to my date.

I think that the Qisseh-i Sanjan's mention of the conquest of Champanir by Mahmud Bigarha (in 1484) gives us a rock-strong historical landmark. It is clear from the wording of the Qisseh, that the sack took place *after* that event. So, it cannot be *before* the date of the capture of Champanir⁶ (1484). The date of the conquest

1 For a full discussion of the subject, on the authority of the Mirat-i Sikandari, Tabakat-i Akbari and Tarikh-i Fireshta, *vide* my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," pp. 36-44.

2 *Vide* his Hadiseh Nameh (1831), p. 199 n.

3 Journal, B.B.R.A. Society, Vol. I, p. 182 n.

4 Vol. I, p. 5, n. 1.

5 "The Sack of Sanjan". *Vide* his "Studies in Parsi History" (1920), pp. 37-66.

6 This fortress is situated in a district of the Baroda State and can be visited from Baroda. I had the pleasure of seeing it on 8th January 1912.

of Champanir is determined on the authority of several historical writings.

James Campbell, the learned Editor of the "Bombay Gazetteer," has by mistake taken this Sultan Mahmud to be Muhammadshah or Ala-ud-din Khilji (1295-1315 A.C.).¹ Dr. Wilson and other writers took him to be Mahmud Bigarha. Sir James Campbell seems to have been misled by a quotation of Elliott from Amir Khusru. Amir Khusru is spoken of as the "Parrot of Hind," as "one of the most prolific poets that the world has ever possessed,"² as he has written some five lacs of verses. He has written a poem called "Ashaka" on the subject of "the lives of Devad Rani, daughter of the Râi of Gujarat, and Khizr Khan, the eldest son of Sultan Ala-ud-din." He refers to Ulugh Khan, a general of Sultan Ala-ud-din. This Ulugh Khan had conquered Gujarat at the direction of his master Sultan Ala-ud-din. In his account of this conquest, Amir Khusru speaks of a battle between Ulugh Khan and the Râi of Gujarat and says that in this battle "the shores of the sea were filled to the brim with the blood of the *gabrs*."³ James Campbell seems to have been altogether misled by the word *gabrs* in Amir Khusru's writing, though he himself says that "*gabre* is often vaguely used to mean infidel; it does not by itself prove that the people referred to are Parsees or were fire-worshippers." The fact is that Amir Khusru has referred to the Hindus by the use of the word "Gabrs."

It is clear that if Campbell had before him the fuller text of Amir Khusru's writing instead of the short

1 "The Bombay Gazetteer," Thana, Vol. XIII, Part I, p. 250.

2 Elliott's "History of India," Vol. III, p. 523.

3 Translation of Amir Khusru's lines on the subject as given by Elliott in his "History of India," Vol. III, p. 549.

quotation of Elliott, he would not have committed the error of taking the Sultan Mahmud of the Qisseh to be Sultan Ala-ud-din Khilji whose original name also was Mahmud.

This being the case, Campbell's attempt to identify Alafkhan, the Vazir of Sultan Mahmud, with Ulugh Khan of Ala-ud-din Khilji falls to the ground.¹ Though, as a good scholar, he has expressed his doubts about the signification of the word *gabr*, James Campbell's attempt has misled some Parsee writers²—and among them a writer like the late Mr. Dossabhoy Framji, in his "History of the Parsees,"—into the error of taking Sultan Mahmud to be Sultan Ala-ud-din Khilji instead of Sultan Mahmud Bigarha, as taken by previous writers. I think that Eastwick's translation of the Qisseh-i Sanjan, being, here and there, faulty, has also misled Campbell.³

Our Qisseh speaks of Alafkhan as a Vazir (وزیر) of Sultan Mahmud. We learn from the 3. Alafkhan c. 240. "Mirât-i Sikandari"⁴ that Alaf Khan, who was, at first, a favourite, latterly rebelled against Sultan Mahmud, at the time when he was in charge of the district of Morâseh (مراسه). The "Mirât-i Sikandari" speaks of him as a 'maolâ-zâdeh' (مولازادہ),⁵ The "Tabaqât-i Akbari" speaks of him as a 'khâneh-zâd' (خانه زاد).⁶

1 For full particulars as to this writing of Amir Khusru, vide my "Dastur Bahman Kaikobad and the Kisseh-i Sanjan," p. 54.

2 (a) "Tarikh-i Shahan-i Iran," by Mr. P. B. Desai, Part II, pp. 394-95. (b) "A History of Gujarat" by Mr. Edalji Dossabhoy (1894), p. 14.

3 Vide my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," pp. 69-70.

4 B. B. R. A. Society's MS. of 'Mirât-i Sikandari,' p. 165, l. 12, to p. 166, l. 5. Bayley's "History of Gujarat," p. 220.

5 I.e., the son of a servant. This expression means "a hereditary follower." Bayley's "Gujarat," p. 220, n. 1.

6 Munshi Naval Kishore's Litho. Ed. of 1875, p. 479, ll. 2-14.

It seems that he had committed some defalcations in the matter of the stipends of the soldiers. To avoid being arrested, he fled out of fear and rebelled against the king. In the end, he apologized and was restored to favour. But he fell into disgrace once again by having murdered an assistant and was sent to prison where he died.¹

In his account of the battle of the Hindu ruler of Sanjan with the army of Alaf Khan, our author, Shapurji, says that he gives the account in short (*mukhtesar*). He says, that, when counted, the number of the Parsees, who fought for the Indian king, came to 1400. To be brief, he does not give the name of the leader, but the "Qissch-i-Sanjan" gives it as Ardeshir. It says that he was the first to come to the *maidān* for fight. In the first battle, the Hindus were successful and the enemy fled from Ardeshir. Alaf Khan also fled in the darkness of night. He reappeared after some time with a larger army. Ardeshir again came forward and said to the Hindu Raja that the strength of the enemy's army was 100 to every one of their soldiers. In this unequal match, as shown by the number, the Hindus lost the battle and both, Ardeshir and the Indian Raja, were killed. We know no further particulars about this Ardeshir.

Chāngā Shāh was a rich influential Parsee of Naosari. It was his wealth and his influence with the people, both of Naosari and Bansda, where the Sacred Fire of Sanjan was removed from the hill of Bahrut after the fall of Sanjan that enabled him to remove the Sacred Fire from Bansda to

5. Chāngā Shāh. bin Āsā. c. 277.
 1 For full particulars with quotations from "Mirāt-i Sikandari," "Tabaqāt-i Akbari" and "Tārikh-i Fireshte," vide my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," *op. cit.* pp. 37-41.

Naosari. He flourished at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. His sons also were distinguished citizens of Naosari.¹

Nāgan Rām, Khurshed Kayāmuddin (Kāmdin) and Chāndnā Sayer, the three priests who carried the Sacred Fire of Sanjan, spoken of as 'Iran-shāh' in the "Qisseh-i-Sanjan," from Bānsdā to Naosari, seem to be famous Mobads of the time. They went to Naosari with their families. On approaching Naosari, they marched off alone with the Sacred Fire leaving their families on the road to follow them. Nāgan Rām was an ancestor of Dastur Bahman Kaikobād, the well-known author of the "Qisseh-i Sanjan." Prof. S. H. Hodiwala thus traces the descent of Bahman Kaikobād from Nāgan Rām: Nāgan Rām—Narsang—Kāmā—Padam—Hamazyār—Kaikobād—Bahman.² Dārāb Hormazdyār and Barzo Kāmdin, the well-known compilers of the two Rivāyats known after their names, were also descended from him.³

Khurshed Kāmdin, the second Mobad, who went to Naosari carrying the Sacred Fire, was a leading man of his time. He is mentioned (a) in the second Rivāyat of Narimān Hoshang (1481 or 1486 A.C.) and (b) in the Rivāyat of an unknown messenger (1511 A.C.). He had three sons, Chāndā, Jeshang and Āsadin or Āsā. Some of the present Ud-wada priests are descended from the first two sons, and the priests of Bulsar, of Jamasp Bhaiji's family, are

1 For a fuller account of Chāngāshāh and his family, *vide* my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees", pp. 96-98. *Vide* my "Dastur Kaikobad Mahyar's Petition and Laudatory Poem addressed to Jehangir and Shah Jahan", p. 103.

2 Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXIII, p. 367. *Vide* my "Dastur Bahman Kaikobād and the Qisseh-i-Sanjan," p. 7.

3 *Ibid.*

descended from his third son.¹ Prof. S. H. Hođivala has thus traced from him the descent of Hoshang, the learned preceptor of Bahman Kaikobâd, the author of the "Qisseh-i Sanjân": Khurshed Kâmdin—Âsâ (or Âsdin)—Châyân—Kâmdin—Âsâ—Hoshang.² I thus trace from him the ancestry of the late Dastur Khurshedji of Udwada: Khurshed Kâmdin—Âsâ or Âsdin—Châyân—Kâmdin—Âsâ—Dastur Hoshang—Dastur Khurshed—Dastur Behram—Dastur Rustam—Dastur Bhikhâ (the first Dastur of Udwada, 1682-1757)—Dastur Behramji (1720-1785)—Dastur Darabji (1766-1855)—Dastur Minocherji (1812-1877)—Dastur Khurshedji (1877-1923). The present Dastur of this family, Dastur Pheroze (there are two families of Dasturs) is the son of Dastur Khurshedji's daughter. He has succeeded as an adopted son.

Chândnâ Sâyer (or Chângâ Sâher) was also a famous Mobad of his time. He was an ancestor of Shâpur Shehryâr Sâmro, who had, later on, quarrelled with his Sanjânâ priests.³

Our author speaks of the Governor of Surat, as Nawâb but does not give his name. But we learn from Anquetil du Perron's account of his stay at Surat ("Le Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie I," page 325), that this Nawâb was Salâbat Khân. A street of Surat is still known by his name as "Salâbatpura" (*vide* Narmadâshanker Lâlshankar's Short Account of Surat, "નર્મદાશંકર," પુસ્તક ૨, અંક ૧, સુરતની મુખતેસર ઘડતર, p. ૩, n. 12). He had come to power as the Mutasaddi

1 *Vide* my "Bahman Kaikobâd and the Kisseh-i-Sanjân," pp. 7, 8 and 50.

2 Journal, B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXXIII, p. 366.

3 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 860.

of Surat in 1687.¹ (Edalji Burjorji's History of Surat in Gujarati, 1890, p. 44.)

Modi Kuverji, who helped the Naosari Bhagaria priests when their case went to the Court of the Nawâb of Surat, was a great influential Parsee of Surat. His full name was Kuverji Nanabhai Punjia. He was also spoken of as Gândhi and Modi. His father Nanabhai Punjia (died 1667 A.C.), was a leading man of Surat where he had built a Tower of Silence. It was a member of his family who had built the first Tower of Silence and the first Parsee Fire-temple in Bombay.²

(a) With his brother Hirji and Ervad Rustom Peshotan, a great poet, he was signatory to a letter written to the Zoroastrians of Persia, in 1668, inquiring as to the propriety of his father's dead body being at first placed in an old Tower of Silence, and then removed to the new Tower.³ (b) He was one of the addressees of the Rivâyat of 1670 A.C. (c) He was a leader of the Parsees of Surat and (d) was the first to receive the surname Modi from the English Factory. The officers of this factory were harrassed by the Portuguese and by the Mogul officials of Surat. The factors were not allowed to have free access to the markets for the purchase of food, groceries and other stores. Kuverji helped them and secured all provisions, etc., for them and was therefore called their 'Modi,' i.e., supplier of groceries.

1 For a fuller account of this Nawâb and a case before him, *vide* my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," pp. 74-76.

2 *Vide* (a) my "History of the Parsee Punchayet," Vol. I, pp. 8-12, (b) my "Introduction to Mr. Manekji Rustamji Unvala's Lithographed Edition of Darab Hormazdyar's Rivayat," p. 9, and (c) for the genealogy of the family, my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates," p. 76.

3 The "Parsee Prakash" Part I, p. 16.

by the English factors. (e) He was one of the signatories to a letter of mild and polite remonstrance, written, on the 9th November, 1683, by some leading laymen and priests, to the Sanjana priests of Naosari, asking them not to act against the terms of the agreement entered into by them with the Bhagaria priests of Naosari. (f) For all the kindness that they had seen at the hands of Kuverji, the Bhagaria priests expressed their gratitude by celebrating certain religious ceremonies in honour of two ladies of Kuverji's family. One of the two ladies, Bai Virbaiji, was the wife of Dhanji Padam, referred to by Anquetil du Perron, in the preliminary portion of his "Zend Avesta" (Tome I, Partie I, page 324), a near relative of Kuverji Modi.¹

Mobad Minocherhomji was a member of the Bajân (બાજા) family of the Bhagaria priests of Naosari. Having separated from his brother Bhagaria priests in order to officiate as a priest of the laymen who had quarrelled with the Bhagaria priests, he founded a separate Dar-i Meher for the performance of religious ceremonies. According to the Naosari Fihrest,² he had become a qualified Nâvar on Roz 10, Mâh 3, Samvat 1709³.

Desai Khurshedji's name was and is even now great in Naosari. He was, and is even now, held as a great benefactor of the Bhagaria priests. So, I will speak of him at some

12. D e s a i Khurshedji. cc. 388 ff. For a fuller account of this Modi's family and for a genealogical tree tracing the descent of the present members of the well-known Modi family of Surat, *vide* my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," pp. 75-77.

2 *Vide* the Naosari "Nâvar and Nirang-din Fihrest."

3 For a fuller account of this personage and his descendants, *vide* the Gujarati "History of the Karkaria Family." pp. 20-22.

length and collect here some particulars relating to him. The early ancestors of Desai Khurshedji (1698-1779) were Dasturs, *i.e.*, leading priests. Then, since one of his ancestors carried on the work of Desai and his family continued it, the family came to be known as that of Desai. So, I will say here a few words about the early Desais, the Desais who preceded Desai Khurshedji's Dastur ancestors.

It is said¹ that the 'Desaigiri' of Naosari was in the hands of the Parsees for about 250 years before the conquest of Gujarat by Akbar. The earlier Desais are not known by name.

The first Parsee Desai, known by name, was Chângâ bin Âsâ, referred to above, who brought about the transfer of the Sacred Fire, first founded in Sanjan, from Bânsdâ to Naosari. His sons and grandsons continued the 'Desaigiri.' His great grandson, Minochehr, who is mentioned in the Persian Rivâyat of Kaus Kâmdin, written in 1553 A.C., and in the Persian letter of Fredun Marzban of about 1570 A.C.,² conducted the 'Desaigiri' in succession. He had two assistants (gumâshteh), named Behram Jesâ, a Parsee, and Kikâ Vimâ, who had both usurped much of the work of Desaigiri.⁴ Behram Jesâ was the Desai of Naosari at the time when Akbar conquered Gujarat in about 1575 A.C. Behram Jesâ had two assistants, Behram Faredun and Homji Faredun were two brothers, who belonged to a family of priests, and were the ancestors of Desai Khurshedji's stock. After Behram Jesâ, they acquired and divided the 'Desaigiri' among themselves. The descendants of the elder son Homji were known as 'Mohtâ Desai' (મોહતા દેસાઈ), *i.e.*, the

1 For much of what I say here I am indebted to the "History of the Desai Family" (દેસાઈ બાનુદાનની ઇતિહાસ, 1887 A.C.) by Mr. Palonji Burjorji Desai.)

2 For a genealogical table of the descendants of Chângâ Âsâ, *vide* my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," p. 97.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 98. 4 "The Parsee Prakash," Part I, p. 10.

Dastur Khurshed

{
 Kamdin
 Faridun
 Rustamji
 Darabji

Homji
 (Branch of the
 Great Desais)
 Rustamji

Behramji
 (d. 27-3-1622)
 (Branch of the lesser
 Polia Desai)

Homji
 (d. 1701)
 Mibho-
 chehri
 Noshirwanji
 (d. 1715 A.C.)
 Tehmuri
 (d. 1728)
 Kersaspji

Maneckji
 Edalji

KHIRSHEDJI
 (d. 1779)
 Rustamji
 Jamsheji

MINOCHHEJI

Sohrab (d. 1678)
 Telmulji (d. 1693)
 Homjibhai (d. 1706)
 (d. 27-8-1657)
 Manockji (d. 1730)
 JIVANJI (d. 1763)

Bahmanji
 (d. 17-6-1655)
 Meherji
 Rustamji
 Darabji

Kuka

Telmulji (1728-1778)
 Barjoji (1747-1821)

Jamaspji

greater Desais. Those from the second son, Behramji, were known as 'Polia Desais' (પોલીયા ડેસાઈ), i.e., "the Desais of the Pol." They were so called, because they lived in a *pol*, i.e., a large family house of several compartments, which was at first built by their ancestor Behramji.

I have said above that these two brothers belonged to a priestly family. So, I will trace here the descent of the two brothers, which is, as it were, tracing the descent of Desai Khurshedji. I give, on the opposite, page a Tree of Descent from an early ancestor Dastur Behram Pahlan and then speak of Desai Khurshedji and his descendants.

The first ancestor of the present two Parsi Desai families of Naosari,—the 'Mohta Desais' and the 'Polia Desais,'—and therefore of Desai Khurshedji himself, was one Behram Pahlan.¹ (a) This Behram was one of the well-known persons of Naosari to whom the Rivâyat of Câmâ Âsâ was addressed by the priests of Persia, on the 7th September, 1527.² (b) He was one of the addressees of the Rivâyat of the 17th January, 1535, brought by Aspandyâr Yazdagard and Rustam.³ (c) He was known as a Dastur in the time of Mânock Chângâ,⁴ son of Chângâ Âsâ, whose known dates are from 1520 to 1535.⁵ He had a son who was well-known as Dastur Khurshed, versed in religious lore.⁶ Dastur Khurshed had a son named Kâmdin who was a famous Mobad of his time.⁷ Kâmdin had a son named Faridun who also was a learned Mobad.⁸ Faridun had two sons, Homji and Beh-

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Part I, p. 7. 2 *Ibid.* col. 1.

3 *Ibid.* p. 8.

4 *Ibid.* p. 11, col. 2.

5 *Vide my* "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," *op. cit.*, p. 98.

6 "The Parsee Prakash," Part I, p. 11, n. 5. 7 *Ibid.* 8 *Ibid.*

ramji.¹ These two brothers, as mentioned above, were the assistants of the above-mentioned Desai Behram Jesā who, after the death of Behram, acquired and divided the 'Desaigiri' among themselves. Desai Khurshedji was descended from Homji.

Homji had a son named Rustamji. This Rustamji is the signatory, Rustam Homji, to the document dated the 8th February, 1687, passed by the Mobads of Naosari to the Behedins. Other signatories to the document, Rustam Khurshed and Darab Rustam (father and son), are the descendants (grandson and great-grandson) of Homji's brother, Behram Faridun.²

Rustamji Homji had five sons: Homji, Minochehrji, Noshirwanji, Tehmurji and Kersaspji. Out of these five, three died at a comparatively early age, and two, the 3rd and the 4th Noshirwanji and Tehmurji, acquired from Darabji Rustamji Khurshedji, great-grandson of Behramji Faridunji (their grandfather Homji's brother), his share of the 'Desaigiri' which Behramji had jointly acquired with Homji on the death of Behram Jesā, the preceding Desai. Of these two brothers—Noshirwanji and Tehmurji,—the brunt and responsibility of the work of the 'Desaigiri' in the town itself fell upon Tehmurji, because Noshirwanji is said to have generally led an easy life at the village of Chāprā. Desai Khurshedji was the eldest of the three sons of Desai Tehmurji.

Desai Khurshed-
ji's eminent ser-
vices to Naosari
and its Bhagaria
Priesthood.

Of the many services Desai Khurshed-
ji rendered to his town of Naosari and to
his Parsee community there, the following
were eminent:—

1 Mr. P. B. Desai's "History of the Mohta Desais" (મોહતા દેસાઈ
ખાતરની ઇતિહાસ). p. 3, col. 2.

2 "The Parsee Prakash," Part I, p. 844.

1. Naosari was more than once a prey to Mahratha marauders. Gopibai, the mother of Naranrao, suspected that the people of Naosari had helped Raghaji—uncle of her son Naranadas, who had murdered her son—during his flight to Surat. So, she sent a band of plundering soldiers to ransack Naosari. A sum of Rs. 35,000/- was settled as ransom for being saved from the impending ravage and Desai Khurshedji paid that amount on behalf of the people out of his own pocket.¹ It seems that he was to Naosari, at this sack of Naosari, what Rustam Manock was to Surat at the sack of Surat by Shivaji.²

2. In the long dispute of the Bhagaria Mobads of Naosari with the Sanjana Mobads who had come to stay at Naosari with their Sacred Fire, it was Desai Khurshedji who had helped the former. The result of all this help was that the Sanjana priests had to leave Naosari with their Sacred Fire to go back within the old precincts of their 'panthak' (or "ecclesiastical jurisdiction") of Sanjan. As the whole affair is mentioned in the Qisseh itself and summarized by me above, I will not speak of it again here.

3. The third memorable service which Desai Khurshedji did to the Naosari Anjuman was that of helping them to found an Atash Behram of their own. The Anjuman expressed a desire to that effect and Desai Khurshedji agreed and helped the Anjuman in every way. The principal help that the Anjuman received in this pious work from outside Naosari was from some leading Parsees of Surat. Desai Khurshedji helped the Anjuman in various directions, but his principal share in this work was that of providing a good home for the Sacred Fire—a dome (*gumbad*) or a house with a dome. All these points are also described at

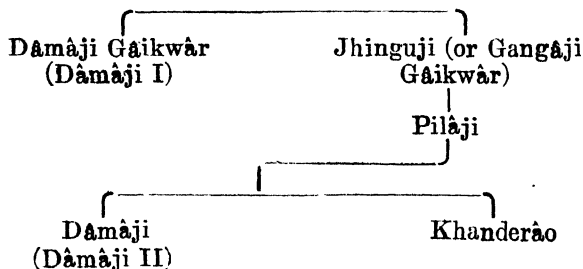
1 Mr. P. B. Desai's "History of the Desai family," p. 11. For the above Raghaji, *vide* my History of the Parsee Panchayet, Vol. I, p. 77.

2 *Vide* my paper on Rustam Manock (Journal of the B. B. Roy's Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol. VI, pp. 79 *et seq.* *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part IV, pp. 179 *et seq.*

length in the 'Qisseh-i Sanjan' and summarized above.

4. In Naosari there are three 'Wâdis' (واڊي) or garden-grounds which are known from the names of Desai Khurshedji and his two brothers, Rustamji and Jamshedji. They are known as 'Khurshed wâdi,' 'Rustam wâdi' and 'Jamshed wâdi.'¹ Of these three, Desai Khurshedji dedicated the one bearing his name to the public for the use of the Anjuman at all the festive and public purposes of the Anjuman.²

Another name of Gangâji Râo was Jhinguji. He was a brother of Dâmâji Gâikwâr (Dâmâji 13. Gangâji Râo (Gâikwâr). c. 393. I) and father of Pilâji. The following table shows the relationship of the Gâikwârs, some of whom are referred to in the Qisseh³ :—



Dâmâji was the founder of the distinguished Gâikwâr ruling family of Baroda. Gangâji is more than once spoken of as Râo. It seems that he was, at this time, the Governor of Naosari. The writing, which the layman passed, according to the 'Qisseh,' to the Bhagaria priests, is dated Roz 26, Mâh 3, Samvat 1791, (*i.e.*, 1735 A.C.).⁴ This Gangâji was

1 It is at this wâdi that Anquetil du Perron had an interview with Dastur Jamshed of Naosari (*vide* my "Anquetil du Perron and Dastur Darab," p. 52).

2 Mr. P. B. Desai's "History of the Desai Family," p. 21.

3 For a somewhat full account of the Gâikwârs, *vide* my article entitled "An Outline of the History of the Early Gâikwârs" in the paper *Svatantra* (સ્વતંત્ર) of the 12th September, 1913.

4 For the purport of the document, *vide* the summary above.

spoken of as Gangâji Bâwâ (*i.e.*, father Gangâji). He is the Jhingoji Gâikwâr of European writers.¹ His grandson, Dâmâji II (1732-1768), was the ruling Gâikwâr. As his brother, Dâmâji I, had adopted his son Pilâji, the Gâikwâr did not come to him but passed on directly to his son Pilâji and then to his grandson Dâmâji II. This seems to explain why he was spoken of as Bâwâ, *i.e.*, father. It is possible that the son and grandson, out of respect for him, called of him "father" and other writers followed them. Such a thing often happens in Indian families.

Dâmâji is mentioned also as Râo Dâmâji (c. 463) in the Qisseh. The Court of Gangâji Râo, where
 14. Dâmâji Râo. c. 461. the case of the Sanjânâ priests was first heard by Dâmâji, was held at Sungar (سونگر c. 464). The reason seems to be that in the first case, the laymen had taken their case before the Governor of Naosari. This time, the Sanjânâ priests carried the matter, not before the Governor Gangâji Râo, but before the ruler himself, who was Dâmâji Gâikwâr. His chief centre of rule was at Sungar, some miles away from Naosari. He granted the request of the Sanjânâ priests to leave Naosari for Bulsar, and our Qisseh says that they left Naosari on Roz Jamyâd (28), Mâh Safandâr (12), year 1109 A.Y., *i.e.*, 1741 A.C. So, this Dâmâji Râo was Dâmâji the Second, who ruled from 1732 to 1768, A.C.

Durjeh Sang seems to have ruled over Ud-wâdâ at the time. According to Mr. Ramsay,² who
 15. Râjâ Dur- jeh Sang. c. 500 has written on the authority of what he had heard at Ud-wâdâ itself, this Durjeh Sang was the Râjâ of Mândwi and was residing, at the time, in his fort at Pârdi (contraction of Pâr-nadi, *i.e.*, the

• 1 "The Guicowar" by Col. Wallace (1863), pp. 9-10. "Bombay Gazetteer," Vol. VII, Baroda, pp. 169-70.

2 "Indian Antiquary" of the 5th July 1872, (Vol. I, p. 213).

river Pâr, referred to in the Qisseh). So, it seems that at that time Udwadâ was under the possession of this King of Mândwi. (*Vide* my note in the summary of cc. 493-507).

The Dastur Sohrab referred to was Dastur Sohrabji Rustamji Meherjirana (1719-1779 A.C.), the Head Dastur of Naosari, who died at the age of 60, on the 21st April, 1779. He became Dastur in 1761 on the death of his brother Dastur Jamshedji. During the sack of Naosari by the Mahratha freebooters, he left Naosari in 1776 and stayed at Surat for some time. The newly consecrated Sacred Fire of Naosari had also to be removed to Surat.¹ He was a learned Dastur and his son Dastur Framji was more learned than he. The late Dastur Mulla Feroze of Bombay had written a few laudatory verses in honour of Dastur Framji.²

Dastur Mâhyâr, mentioned by our author as the ancestor of Dastur Sohrâb, is the well-known Dastur Meherji Rânâ, who had visited the Court of Emperor Akbar³ and was the founder of the well-known Dastur Meherji Rânâ family of Naosari. He died on the 1st November, 1591. He was appointed the Dastur of Naosari by a public document, dated the 12th March, 1579, which document was latterly supported by another, dated the 1st September, 1580. Our Qisseh says that he had produced many proofs about the (Zoroastrian) religion before Akbar (*basî burhân-i dîn zâher kard û*, c. 530).

1 *Vide* my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji-Rânâ", p. 46.

2 "The Parsee Prakash", Vol. I, p. 230.

3 *Vide* my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji-Rânâ," p. 46 and 235.

The Shah Akbar is the Emperor Akbar, referred to in connection with his invitation to
 18. Shah Akbar, Dastur Meherji Rânâ to his Court, to
 c. 530. attend the religious conference he had held at Agra. He had given to Dastur Meherji Rânâ a piece of ground near Naosari, about 200 'bighas' in area.¹

Burzo's father, Dârâb, was the well-known Dastur
 Dârâb Pâhlan of Naosari.² As to Dastur
 19. Dastur Burzo, mentioned here, I will quote here,
 c. 533. what I have said in my book on the work of Dârâb Pâhlan: "Dastur Burzo, the son of Dastur Darab Pahlân also was a scribe. A Pahlavi Rivâyat, written by him, is referred to in a MS. in the Mulla Feroze Library (Ervad B. N. Dhabhar's Descriptive Catalogue, p. 34). The copyist speaks of Dastur Burzo as *munazzam nâmi* (منظم نامی), i.e., illustrious in line (nizâm, descent). He is said to have taken an active part in the consecration of the Atash Behram of Naosari. He died on the 22nd October, 1770."³

1 Vide my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana," p. 95 and 224.

2 This Dârâb Pâhlan, who was a very learned priest of his time and was the author of several works (*vide* my "Persian Farziât-nâmeh and Kholâseh-i Dîn of Dastur Darab Pahlân," Text and Version with Notes, pp. 107-118), lived from 1642 to the end of 1735 or some subsequent year. Besides being a learned author of several works, he was a great scribe. Some of the manuscripts of the Vendidad, etc., written by him, have found their way to the libraries of Europe. A Vendidad, written by him in 1735, is at present in the 'Bibliothèque Nationale' of Paris where I had the pleasure of seeing it during my stay in Paris in 1889.

3 Vide my "Persian Farziât-nâmeh and Kholâseh-i Dîn, of Dastur Darab Pahlân," Text and Version with notes, pp. 114-15.

(a) Dastur Jamshed became the Dastur of the third chair¹ at Naosari, on the death of his father, the well-known Dastur Jāmāsp Āsā (1697-1753) in 1753. (b) He was very well received and honoured in 1781, when he came to Bombay. (c) He had written several odes in Persian, which were all collected under the name of "Divān-i Jamshed". (d) Anquetil du Perron saw him at Naosari, on his way back to Surat, while returning from his visit to the Elephanta Caves². (e) He is the Dastur, referred to by Anquetil, as the possessor of a rare manuscript of the Pahlavi Yasna³. This MS. has now found its way to the Bodleian Library of Oxford and is known as J2. It is reproduced in *facsimile* and edited by Dr. Mills. Anquetil says that Dastur Jamshed denied the fact of his possessing it, though, in fact, he did possess it. The fact seems to be that though the MS. belonged to Dastur Jamshed's family at the time when Anquetil asked for it, it had passed into the hands of Dastur Behram, a younger brother of Dastur Jamshed.

(a) Dastur Mānockji Jamshedji Rustamji Meherjirana was a leading member of the Meherji Rana family at the time. (b) He was a leading signatory to the following old documents: 1. One dated the 31st December, 1761, passed by some Naosari priests to Desai Khurshedji, authorising him to take from the Bhagar-sāth common income (*rās* રાસ), Rs. 1091/- which he had given on behalf of the Naosari Anjuman for a Tower of Silence at Surat for the use of those who covered with *padāns* the faces of the dead.⁴ 2. A

1 The heads of five families of priests are allotted special seats, spoken of as *kūrsi* or chair, in public gatherings. *Vide* for their *pois* my "Few Events in the History of the Parsees," pp. 138 & 178.

2 "Le Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie I," p. 428.

3 *Ibid.*, Partie II, p. 74, Preface.

4 "The Parsee Prakash", Part I, p. 44.

document dated the 2nd October 1776,¹ addressed by the Naosari Anjuman to the Bombay Anjuman, asking them not to prepare a *varaçyâ* ("sacred bull") in Bombay. (c) He was a leader of the eight courageous priests, who, carried the Sacred Atash Behram Fire² safely to Surat, for protection from desecration, during the attack of the Mahratha freebooters on Naosari in 1776. (d) He was one of the priests who consecrated, in 1764 A.C., at Bharthânâ, the Tower of Silence of the Naosari Mobads who were living in Surat and observed the custom of tying the *padân* over the face of the dead.³

(a) Tehmur (تہمور, d. 1728), mentioned here as the father of Sardar Khurshedji Desai, 22. Tehmur. c. 545. was the well-known Desai Tehmurji Rustamji of Naosari. Though, as stated in the account given above of Desai Khurshedji, the 'Desaigiri' was in his family before his time, he is looked to as the first Desai founder of the family. The Parsees are said to have begun settling in large numbers at Naosari in 1142, when the town was under Hindu rule. With the conquest of Gujarat by Ala-ud-din Khilji in 1297 A.C., Naosari passed under Mahomedan rule. (b) In 1700⁴ A.C., Tehmurji was appointed Chodhri⁵ of Naosari and Parchol by the Mogul Government. (c) The Mahomedan rule was not liked by the people of Naosari, and it was Tehmurji Desai who was instrumental in bringing about the Hindu rule again, in 1720. He met Pilâji Râo Gâikwâr, whose seat of government was then at Sunghad, a few miles away from Naosari. He represented to him that the people were tired of Mogul rule

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Part I, 53.

2 *Ibid.* p. 54.

3 *Ibid.* p. 862.

4 *Ibid.* p. 27.

5 Chodhri was a high post in Mogul times. Under the British, it became a lower post attached to British regiments. I know that a Parsee held that post at the Colaba Cantonment.

and persuaded him to come over to Naosari and take possession of it. Pilāji Rāo did so and began to rule there. (d) Our Qisseh speaks of Tehmurji Desai as helping the people and relieving them from domestic taxes ('bāj khāngi', c. 546). This is a reference to his having helped the poor under Mogul rule.¹ (e) But the great help, which seems to have been referred to here, was that which he gave to relieve the poor from the distress caused by the inroads of the Mahratha Pindāris. Thus, he helped the poor by relieving them, both, from the taxes of the Mogul rulers and from the distress caused by the Pindāris. As to the beginning of his 'Desaigiri,' I have spoken above in the account of his son Khurshed, whose name occurs in the Qisseh before his name.

While speaking of Desai Khurshedji, the Qisseh mentions the names both of his father and of his son, to show that he was an illustrious son of an illustrious father, and an illustrious father of an illustrious son. The Minochehr, mentioned here, was Desai Minochehr (1722-1810 A.C.), son of Desai Khurshed. Our Qisseh says that he always recited the Avesta ('Avestā rā dūst dārad,' c. 550), i.e., he was pious. He seems to have been more illustrious than his father, on account of his greater public services, not only to his community but to the public in general, especially in bringing about closer relations between the Gaikwars of Naosari and the British Government. He came to the 'Desaigiri' in 1779, on the death of his father. Amongst his works for the good of his community may be mentioned (a) his work of repairing and renewing the old 'Dar-i Meher' of Naosari in 1795. The 'Dar-i Meher' still bears a tablet recording that event. (b) Along with Mr. Nusserwanji Manockji Wadia of Bombay, he had also undertaken the repairs and reconstruction of

23. Minochehr.
c. 549.

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Part I, p. 28.

the Naosari Atash Behram in 1765.¹ (c) He had a hand in bringing about an arrangement between the British Government under the Governorship of Jonathan Duncan and Ânandrâo Gâikwâr, whereby the British kept a Subsidiary Force of 2000 men at Baroda. In recognition of these valuable services, Ânandrâo Gâikwâr gave him several villages as Jâgir, and the British Government gave him an annuity of Rs. 2,400/-. In 1803, he had some differences with the new Gâikwâr, Kanoba; he had, therefore, to leave Naosari and lived in Surat for some time.

The Qisseh speaks of certain gentlemen of Naosari who, by their contributions, helped the work of founding a new Atash Behram at Naosari. Nusserwanji, spoken of in our Qisseh as a leader (Sardar) of Surat, was one of them. I will give here some particulars about him. (a) He was the fifth son of Bahman, second son of the well-known Rustam Manock of Surat, mentioned, in two couplets later on, as Sett (سبت) Rustam. (b) He was one of the signatories to the testament of his cousin Manockji Nawroji Seth² who died in 1782. (c) He was a great cotton merchant and lived and traded both in Surat and Bombay.³ (d) He was a member of the Parsi Punchayet of Bombay.⁴ (e) He had five brothers: (1) Nanabhai, after whom the Nanabhai Bahmanji Street of Bombay is named, (2) Khurshedji, (3) Manockji (1711-99), (4) Shapurji, after whom is named Shapurji Sett's *chucklâ*⁵ (public street) in Fort, and (5) Behramji. (f) He was one of the signatories to a document, addressed by the Surat Parsees, on the

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 118.

2 *Ibid.* p. 37.

3 *Ibid.* p. 88.

4 *Ibid.* p. 88.

5 *Ibid.* p. 88 n.

5th January 1768, to the Dasturs of Broach about the recital of the 'rôz mâh' (day and month) in prayers.¹ (g) We learn from an account of Desai Khurshedji's life, that Nusserwanji's father Bahmanji (Bahman, as mentioned in our Qisseh, c. 558), and his brother Framji, had close relations with the Desais of Naosari. They had helped Desai Khurshedji in building a house for himself.² On their way to Bombay from Surat, which they had to leave to escape from the machinations of the Nawâb of Surat, they were helped by Desai Khurshedji, who had also introduced them to Gangâji Râo. When at Naosari, they had presented Khurshedji Desai's mother with a golden bangle worth Rs. 250/- and had presented some gold *mohrs* to Desai Khurshedji himself.³ (h) Bahmanji had contributed Rs. 139-10-0 to the expenses of founding the Naosari Atash Behram.

Bahman, mentioned in our Qisseh as the father of Nusserwanji, is the 'Bomanji' mentioned in a document, dated "London the 19th August 1724" by the then 17 Directors of the English East India Company to their "President and Council of Bombay."⁴ Owing to some dispute about money between the Factories at Surat and Bombay on the one hand, and he and his brothers Framji and Nawroji on the other, he was confined in his own house at Bombay. His brother Nawroji had gone to England and secured justice at the hands of the Directors.

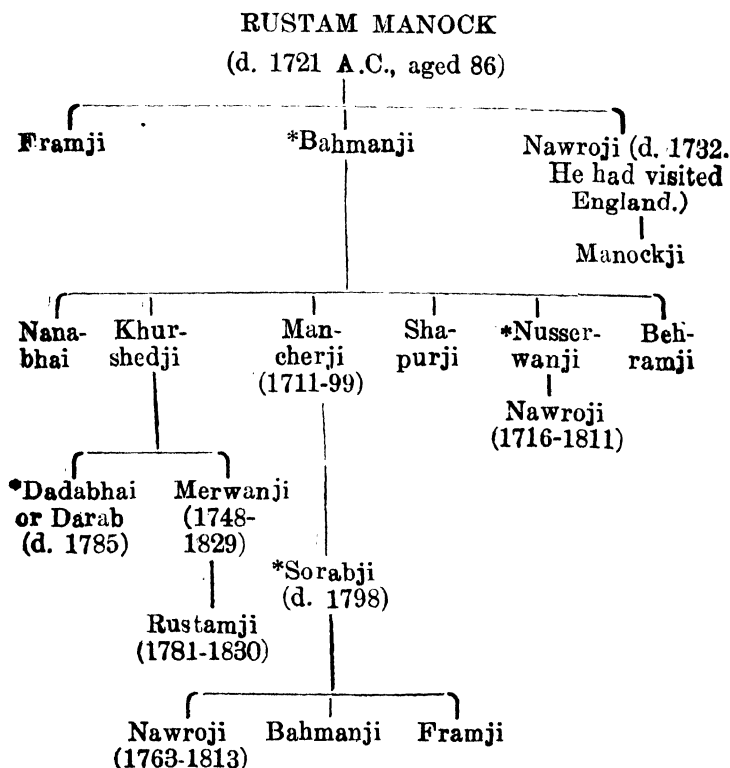
1 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 863.

2 Mr. Palonji Burjorji Desai's "History of the Desai Family," p. 10, col. 1. *Vide* Desai Khurshedji's own autobiographical account (*ibid.* p. 98).

3 *Ibid.* p. 10.

4 For a photo facsimile copy of this document, *vide* my paper on "Rustom Manock, the Broker of the English East India Company" Jour. B. B. R. A. S. 125 Years' Centenary Volume. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part IV. *Vide* Mr. Shapurji Kavasji Hodiwala's "History of the Seth Khandan Family," published by Mr. Kavasji Jalbhoy Seth.

The following family tree shows the descent from Rustam Manock of Nusserwanji and his other relatives mentioned in the Qisseh. Their names are marked with an asterisk:—



Sett (سبت) Rustam (1635-1721 A.C.), from whom, as stated by our Qisseh, Nusserwanji was descended, is the well-known Rustam Manock, for whom a separate Qisseh is written in Persian, named 'Qisseh-i-Rustam Manock.' I have given that Qisseh in Persian, with my version and notes and other particulars, in one of my papers read before the B.

25. Sett Rustam. c. 559.

B. Royal Asiatic Society,¹ in 1929. (a) He was a broker of three European Factories—the English, the Portuguese and the Dutch. (b) He had relieved his Parsee co-religionists and even some poor non-Parsees from the oppressive *Jazieh*, imposed by Aurangzeb, and (c) from the distress caused by the sack of Surat by Shivaji. (d) He had visited the court of Aurangzeb accompanying an ambassador from England.² (e) He had visited Goa and released the ship of a Mahomedan merchant of Surat captured by the Portuguese and carried to Goa.²

(a) This Sohrab (1737-1792) who, our author says, was called Sett by merchants (*tojjar*, 36. Sohrab. c. c. 564) and other great men, was the 562. great-grandson of Rustam Manock. He was the son of Mancherji Bahmanji Sett. (b) He had married the daughter of his father's cousin Manockji Nawroji Seth, who had adopted him, having no male issue. He was, therefore, known as Sohrabji Manockji Seth. His cousin Dadabhai Khurshedji Seth had married another daughter of Manockji Seth, who had adopted him also. Sohrab carried on the affairs of his father-in-law and adoptive father Manockji in Surat and his father Mancherji attended to Manockji's affairs in Bombay. (c) But, in 1785, he came to Bombay and settled here to look after Manockji's charities. His cousin, Dadabhai Khurshedji Sethna, was his colleague in the management. (d) In the great famine of Gujarat of 1790 A.C., known as the Sadtala Famine (સડતાલા ફાતો, i.e., the famine of the Samvat year 1847), he helped the poor Parsees of Surat and of other places in

1 "Rustam Manock, the Broker of the English East India Company (1699 A.C.) and the Persian Qisseh of Rustam Manock. A Study." (The 125 Years' Anniversary Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part IV, pp. 101-320).

2 For full particulars of his life and for those of his sons Framji, Bahmanji and Nawroji, *vide* my paper on Rustam Manock, *op. cit.*

Gujarat who were driven by the famine to Bombay. He allowed them to be kept and fed at the 'Manockji Seth's Wadi' in the Fort, then known as the 'Punchayet Wadi,' as it was for the use of the Parsee public (Punchayet). (e) On the 24th November, 1796, he founded a 'Dar-i Meher' at Baharkote, Bombay, in the sacred memory of his father Mancherji. The Sacred Fire is now removed to Tardeo and is still known as 'Mancherji Seth's Agiari.'¹ (f) He is said to have added, out of the charity fund at his disposal, an *otlâ*, "a dining pavilion," to the above 'Manockji Seth's Wadi' founded by his adoptive father and father-in-law.² (g) He was a leading signatory to a document addressed on the 3rd September, 1769, by some Parsees of Surat to Desai Khurshedji Tehmurji of Naosari, complaining that the Naosari Mobads, who worked at Rustampura in Naosari, wanted to make a new arrangement for the performance of religious ceremonies which was not liked by the laymen of Surat.³ (h) He was one of the signatories to an important document dated the 13th July, 1795, written in Bombay, at the request of the then officer of Government, known as the Mayor, expressing an opinion that it was the son of a male descendant or relative and not that of a female descendant who could be adopted by a person having no male issue. The case was decided, on the authority of that document, in favour of the male descendant. On an appeal made by the opposing party, the Appeal Court also upheld the Mayor's decision; but, in the end, the Higher Court in England, then known as the King in Council (the predecessor of our present Privy Council), overthrew the decision of the Mayor and the Appeal Court and decided in favour of the appellants, the lady-descendants.⁴

1 "The Parsee Prakash", Part I, pp. 74 and 85; pp. 81-82.

2 *Ibid.* p. 37, n. 1.

3 *Ibid.* p. 46.

4 *Ibid.* p. 80.

(i) Another case, in which he was personally concerned, was lodged against him before the King's Council. By virtue of a clause in the testament of his adoptive father, Manockji Seth, the Parsee Punchayet of Bombay, had lodged a complaint against him and his father Mancherji that they were not properly managing the charities of Manockji. The Mayor decided in favour of the Punchayet. Sohrabji appealed to the Governor-in-Council, who overruled the Mayor's decision. The Punchayet then appealed to the King in Council who upheld the decision of the Governor-in-Council. The case went on for nine years, and the total cost on Sohrabji's side came to about Rs. 9,945/-.¹

(a) The Darab Sett referred to is Dadabhai Khurshedji Seth (1738-1785), great-grandson of Rustam Manock. He also was, like Sohrab, son-in-law and adopted son of Manockji Nawroji Seth, and was, therefore, named Dadabhai Manockji Seth. He is spoken of as Darab in our Qisseh. One and the same person is, at times, spoken of as Darab or Dadabhai, in which case they take Dadabhai to be another form of Darabbhai, though, really speaking, Dadabhai is a Hindu name. (b) From 1759, he carried on the affairs of his adoptive father Manockji at Surat. (c) Then, he traded on his own account with China, Mecca and other places.² (d) In 1785, he came to Bombay to administer the affairs of Manockji Seth in conjunction with Sohrabji, the other adopted son, but died in the same year, 1785, at the young age of 47. On his death, his younger brother Merwanji Khurshedji Seth (1748-1829) filed a suit for his (Dadabhai or Darabji's) share in the partnership business with Sohrabji, and, it is said,

27. Darab Sett,
c. 566.

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Part I, p. 84.

2 *Ibid.* p. 65.

that the suit lasted for thirty years, conducted first in the Mayor's Court and then in the Recorder's Court.¹ He had no son, and his estate was inherited by his nephew and son-in-law, Merwanji Khurshedji Sethna (1781-1830), whom he had adopted. (e) He was a signatory, with his cousin and colleague Sohrabji mentioned above (who then signed as Sohrabji Mancherji Seth, to the letter above referred to, dated the 3rd September, 1769, to Desai Khurshedji on a sacerdotal matter.² (f) Similarly, he was a signatory, with his cousin, to the letter, dated the 5th January, 1768, referred to above, written by some Parsees of Surat to the Dasturs of Broach in the matter of the recital of the *rôz mâh*.³ (g) He and his colleague, Sohrabji, were owners of the plots of ground which, by a document dated the 9th October, 1801, were acquired by the Turf Club then founded by Messrs. Charles Forbes, G. Hall, A. Campbell, P. Hadeau and others.⁴ These plots were acquired to extend the Race-Course. (h) He owned a property in the Fort of Bombay, which was burnt in the great fire of 1813, along with other 199 houses.

(i) Besides his gift in coin to the Naosari Atash Behram, referred to in our Qisseh, he is said to have presented two pieces of ground—one of seven bighās and another of twenty bighās—in the district of Naosari for defraying, out of their produce, the annual expenses of the Atash Behram.⁵ These pieces of ground previously belonged to Sayyad Shafula, known as Badā Saheb. This Sayyad had, through Desai Khurshedji, mortgaged these plots to Dadabhai for a sum of Rs. 300/-. As he could not release the mortgage, Dadabhai presented the land to the Naosari Atash Behram.

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Part I, p. 217.

2 *Ibid.* p. 46.

3 *Ibid.* p. 863.

4 *Ibid.* pp. 881-882.

5 *Ibid.* p. 883.

6 *Ibid.* p. 863.

Minochehr Khurshid Sett is the well-known Mancherji 28. Minochehr Khurshedji Nowroji Sethna (1714-1784 Khurshid Sett. A.C.). (a) He was a leading Parsee of ec. 571-73. Surat. (b) He was a broker of the Dutch Factory. (c) Anquetil du Perron refers to him, more than once, in his *Zend Avesta*¹. Mancherji Seth was a strong partizan of the Shehenshahi sect, and Anquetil's teacher. Dastur Darab, was a leading priest of the Kadimi sect. In his attempts to domineer over Dastur Darab, Anquetil, therefore, seemed to take advantage of the differences between the two parties.

(d) Mancherji and his father were, at first, in the service of Manockji Seth, Rustam Manock's grandson. So, perhaps, he also began to be known as Seth. Or, perhaps, the people, on account of his fame as an influential and useful man of the city, may have begun to speak of him as 'Seth,' just as they had done in the case of Rustam Manock: (e) He seems to have had closer relations and much correspondence with Desai Khurshedji. (f) He had influence with the Modis of Surat. It is through him that Desai Khurshedji corresponded, in 1754, with Modi Boghabhai, who was then in Bombay, as regards an important case relating to a complaint against the Naosari priests officiating in Bombay.²

(g) Like the Seths of the Rustam Manock family, he was also descended from a family of well-known priests. He was descended from Behram Farâmarz, a great Dastur of Surat, in his time. Fardunji Marzbanji, founder of the Marzban family of Bombay, and Dastur Darab Kumânâ, Anquetil du Perron's teacher at Surat, were also descended from Behram Farâmarz. I have traced

1 "Le Zend Avesta, L'Ouvrage de Zoroastre," Tome I, Partie I, pp. 316 ff. *Vide* my "Anquetil du Perron and Dastur Darab."

2 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 39.

the descent of these personages from their common ancestor in my paper on Dastur Darab.¹

(h) The following are his benevolent works :— (1) He had built a Dharmashālā for Zoroastrians at Sindhiwād in Surat² and dedicated it to charity on the 23rd October, 1711. (2) He had built a Tower of Silence in the village of Nargol near Sanjan, in 1767.³ (3) A Tower of Silence was built, under his management, at the expense of the Anjuman, near Kānkrākhāri in Surat. It was consecrated on the 10th June, 1771. Though built from the funds of the Anjuman, it is still known as Mancherji Seth's Dakhma. His own share in the general subscription was said to be double that of all the others. This Tower of Silence is known to be the largest in India⁴. (4) He had built several wells with reservoirs for cattle to drink at Satvalā, Sachin and Lajpore outside of Surat and at Frāmpurā and Salābatpurā in Surat.⁵ (5) He is said to have given in charity a piece of ground known as Kiāri (કિયારી),⁶ for the expenses of the Naosari Atash Behram.

(i) It appears from a letter, dated the 31st August, 1754, written by Desai Khurshedji to the Mobads of Bombay, that Desai Khurshedji had sought the help of Mancherji Seth to influence Modi Boghabhai of Bombay in the matter of a dispute between two Naosari Mobads officiating in Bombay, as their personal dispute interfered in the performance of their sacerdotal duties towards the laymen.⁷ This fact shows that Mancherji

1 *Vide* my paper on "Anquetil du Perron and Dastur Darab" (Jour. B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XIV, No. 2, pp. 385-456.) *Vide* my "Anquetil du Perron and Dastur Darab," pp. 73-78.

2 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 43.

3 *Ibid.* p. 45.

4 *Ibid.* pp. 47-48 for full particulars.

5 *Ibid.* p. 65.

6 *Ibid.* p. 863.

Seth was an influential man of Surat, and in a position to influence Modi Boghabhai, a leading man of Bombay, who was, at first, a resident of Surat.

(j) He was one of the leading signatories, with Sohrabji Seth and Dadabhai Seth mentioned above, to a letter addressed to Khurshedji Desai, dated the 3rd September, 1769, referred to above, complaining against the Naosari priests of Rustampurā in Surat.¹ (k) Most of the property of the Parsee Punchayet of Surat was held, among others, in his name and that of Framji Rustamji Sethna.²

(l) In 1768, he had helped the Godavra Mobads in one of their sacerdotal affairs³. (m) Along with his brother Kavasji and some others of the priestly families of Surat, he was a defendant in a suit filed in the Court of Nawab Tegbegkhan, on the 28th October, 1741. The defendants were directed to allow the requisite religious ceremonies to be performed by the Bhagaria Mobads of Naosari living in Surat, and not by the local Mobads of the city, for the families of the Sanjana Mobads and the laymen, who had, owing to the depredations of the Mahratha Pindaris, left Naosari and stayed for good at Surat.

(n) He was one of the signatories, with Sohrabji Sethna and Dadabhai Sethna, to a letter of the 5th January, 1768, referred to above, asking the people of Broach to stick to the practice of reciting their own *rôz mäh* (day and month) in the recital of their prayers.⁴

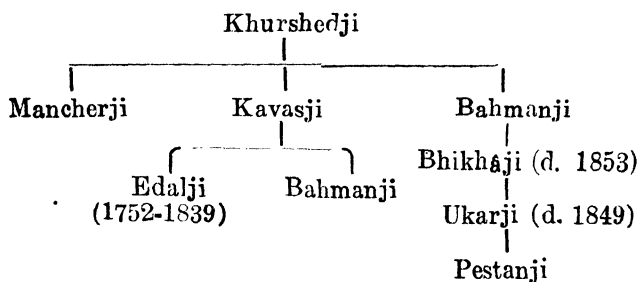
(o) Edalji Kavasji Seth (1752-1839), who, later on, was well-known among the Parsees of Surat for his charity and some works of public utility, was the son of Mancherji's brother Kavasji Khurshedji Seth, who also was well-known

1 *Vide* "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 40. 2 *Ibid.* p. 510.

3 *Ibid.* p. 840.

4 *Ibid.* p. 863.

as a leader of the Community. Mancherji had no son and had, therefore, adopted his nephew Bahmanji Kavasji Seth. The following table shows the descent of his brother's sons:—



(p) I have heard many stories about him in Bombay from the late Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unwala of Surat and from others. He was said to have been called "Manchi" (मन्ची) by the Nawab. He had very great influence with the Nawab, but, still, none, in the Court of the Nawab, could say when he would incur the Nawab's displeasure. Men of influence at Court have to count upon emergencies of this kind. So, he is said to have provided himself with a very swift pair of oxen for his carriage, to run away in case of emergency and hide himself somewhere till the intensity of the displeasure had passed away. To keep this pair of oxen always in practice and in good form, he had ordered them to be taken to drink water at the river of Lajpore, every day, which is at a distance of about eight or ten miles from Surat. He is said to have had very great influence at the Court of the Mogul Emperors at Delhi, and at times, he counted upon their help. But, he tried to avoid the crisis so far as he could.

Again, it is said that the Nawab had employed some Parsees as domestic servants, whom, at times, he used to ask to fill up his *hooka* or smoking pipe with tobacco. The Parsee servants, out of their reverence for fire, did

not like to do that work, which they were compelled to do. So, they once spoke about the matter to Mancherji Seth. Mancherji told one of them to fill up the pipe with dried dung, night soil or some such dirty stuff in place of tobacco and to make himself scarce after handing the pipe to the Nawâb. He told the servant that he would take care of him and his family, if the worst happened. The servant did as Mancherji Seth had asked him to do. The Nawâb, on smoking the *hooka* thus prepared, got awfully angry and sent for the servant to be punished. The servant could not be found. The time of crisis passed off and the Nawâb complained to Mancherji Seth about the servant. Mancherji Seth smoothed matters and advised the Nawâb not to ask his Parsee servants to fill up the *hooka*.

(q) The Qisseh speaks of Mancherji as young (javân, c. 576), at the time when he corresponded with Desai Khurshedji in the matter of the Atash Behram. As he was born in about 1714 A.C. he must be about (1765—1714=) 51 at the time the Naosari Atash Behram was prepared in 1765.

Stavorinus, a Dutch officer, while writing about the Parsees of Surat, in his work of travels,¹ in 1774, refers to Mancherji Seth and says that he was a broker of the Dutch and was a leading Parsee. He writes:—
 “Two of them, one of whom Mantchergi by name is a broker of the Dutch, and the other² of the English Coy. are the chiefs of the Parsees who dwell in and about Surat;

1 “Voyages to the East Indies,” by J. S. Stavorinus, translated from the original Dutch by S. H. Wilcocks, Vol. II, pp. 494-498, 504-5. Vol. III, pp. 1, 25.

2 As mentioned by the “Parsee Prakash,” Part I, p. 865, he was Dhanjishah Manjishah.

they are at the same time their chief ecclesiastics or priests; they likewise settle the disputes that arise among them, and the parties must submit to their decisions; murder, homicide and other crimes amongst them, which disturb the public tranquillity, are punished by the *nabob*, or governor of the city; he however acts very circumspectly in such cases, because he stands more in awe of the Parsees than the Moors or Gentoos, on account of their large numbers and greater courage, whereby they are left, in some measure, independent; such heavy crimes, I was told, are very seldom heard of among them; and besides, as they all live in separate wards, in which they do not allow any strangers to reside, many things may remain hidden among them."

The passage quoted above from Stavorinus shows that, as a leader of the Parsee community of Surat, Mancherji looked into and decided cases relating to social matters. An instance of this kind, illustrating what is said above, is found in a letter, dated the 31st October, 1775, addressed to him by Dastur Kamdinji Fardunji of Surat, wherein the writer requests Mancherji Seth to keep an eye upon two cases—one, of a Parsee woman, who thought of marrying another person, leaving her former husband, and another, of a Parsee male, who thought of marrying a second wife, though the first was living.¹

Anquetil du Perron refers to Mancherji more than once in his *Zend Avesta*.² We gather the referred to by following information:—(1) He was opposed to the reform of the calendar suggested by some Persian Zoroastrians who had come to India.³ (2) He was a broker (courtier) of the Dutch Factory whose

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 866.

2 "Le Zend Avesta, l'Ouvrage de Zoroastre," Tome I, Partie I, pp. 280, 294, 307, 316, 327, 329, 364.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 316, 327.

head was M. Taillefer. His influence increased with this position. (3) He was "the head of the Parsees of Surat" (le premier des Parses de Surate, p. 315). (4) He possessed rare manuscripts of the Avesta. Among these, one was a Zend and Pahlavi Vendidad, which was "the most authentic and the most exact." Anquetil compared this MS. with the manuscript he had from his teacher Dastur Darab.¹ (5) He was the son of a Mobad.² (6) He was the favourite of Ali Nawaz Khan, the Governor of Surat. (7) As Mancherji was supported by the Dutch factory, the followers of the Kadimi sect sought the support of the French Factory, the head of which was M. le Verrier. They did this through Anquetil du Perron, whose favour his teacher Darab sought by helping him with his manuscripts.³ Anquetil took advantage of the quarrel between the two Parsi sects, and secured manuscripts from both,⁴ making a show of helping each of them or setting one against the other. All this happened in 1759 A.C. (8) With the advent of a new Nawâb, Mancherji had to suffer great distress and trouble. The Nawâb did not like the Dutch Factory erecting a new building without the permission of the Government. Again, the Dutch had incurred the displeasure of the Mahrathas in Broach, by putting to death some of their leading men. The Mahrathas demanded a ransom of Rupees ten lacs for the loss they had suffered. As a result of all these, Mancherji was arrested by the Nawâb. He and a Hindu named Manockchand (Manik-schen), Divan of the former Nawâb Sabdar Khan, were taken to be the prime sources of all the wrongs attributed to the Dutch. A ransom of four lacs was required of Mancherji. Until he paid the ransom, guards were set over him and he was charged Rs. 500/- for maintaining them. He was given

1 "Le Zend Avesta, l'Ouvrage de Zoroastre," pp. 315-17.

2 *Ibid.* p. 327.

3 *Ibid.* p. 328.

4 *Ibid.* p. 329.

very bad treatment in prison, to such an extent that they forced excreta in his mouth. The Dutch protested against all this brutality and captured seven or eight Muhammadan ships in the bunder. The merchants of these vessels, being hard pressed, represented the matter to the Nawâb, who was forced to come to terms with the Dutch, one of the terms being to set free Mancherji at once.¹ The Dutch, who had gone away to their ships, returned to Surat in triumph, and the people of Surat came to welcome them upto Ombrâ,² a large Parsee town situated on the river.³ Anquetil has accused Mancherji of abusing the confidence Ali Nawâz Khân had placed in him.⁴ (9) Mancherji was imprisoned once again. A quarrel took place in the bazar owing to the conduct of Farâsh Khân's son. The Parsees beat the peons of this son, and were, therefore, imprisoned. A brother of Mancherji was amongst them. When Mancherji went to secure his release, he, too, was arrested. He was not in the good graces of the English factors. The Dutch went once again to Mancherji's rescue and demanded his release. Farâsh Khân, at first, refused to set him free. There were great chances of a fight between the Dutch and the English. This fight, had it taken place, would have done much harm to the merchants who, therefore, requested Farâsh Khân to release Mancherji, and he was set free.⁵

Later on, Mancherji offered to arrange the purchase of some Sanskrit books of the Vedas for Anquetil.⁶

1 "Le Zend Avesta, l'Ouvrage de Zoroastre," Tome I, p. 280.

2 This Parsee town of Ombrâ is Umrâ (ઉમરા ગામ) which is now all deserted, most of it being washed away by the inroads of the river Taptî. This town has given its name to the well-known Umrigar (ઉમરીગર) family now residing in Bombay.

3 "Le Zend Avesta," Tome I, p. 180.

4 *Ibid.* p. 294.

5 *Ibid.* p. 307.

6 *Ibid.* pp. 336 and 394.

Dastur Shâpurji Sanjânâ's Qisseh refers to a reply from three members of the family of Rustam Mânock Seth and from Mancherji Seth to the Naosari Anjuman, expressing their willingness to pay their mite for the expenses of the Atash Behram. In this connection, I will quote here, what I have said in my article on "the Kisseh-i Atash Behram-i Naosari," in the issue of the *Zartoshti* of Meher, 1278 Yazdajardi, (Vol. VI, No. 3, p. 181, ff.) :—

"During my visit to Naosari in May 1903, I had an occasion to see an original account book, which showed the money transactions of Desai Khurshedji of Naosari, with Mancherji Seth of Surat, for the Samvat year 1822 (A.D. 1766). Therein, I find the following entry :—

“શેઠ શ્રી મનચેરજી ખુરશેદજી શુરતનાનું ખાતું શંવત ૧૮૨૨ ખાવીશથી ઊતારું છે.

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૧૦૩૯૧૧=માહા શુદ્ધ ૯ રવેગી ખાખત શી
આતશબહેરામના ખરચનાં
રૂ. ૧૩૩૯૧૧=તેમાંથી બાદ
રૂ. ૩૦૦ વજીરશેદે અમારા
હીશાનાં ગયા બાકી
શુરતના હીશા ૪ નાં રૂ.
૧૦૩૯૧૧=રૂ.૩૬૧ તમોએ
કબુલા તેની વીગત.
૧૩૯૧૧= શેઠ શ્રી નોરોર-
' વાનજી અમનજીનાં
૩૦૦ શેઠ શ્રી સોરાબજી
મનોચેરજીનાં
૩૦૦ તમારા હીશાનાં
૩૦૦ શેઠ શ્રી દાદાભાઈ
માનકજી

૧૦૩૯૧૧=

"Translation. .

"The Account of Sethji Mancherji Khurshedji of Surat, produced from Samvat 1822.

*Credit**Debit*

Rs. 1,039-10 Mâh Shud 9 Sunday. For the expense of the Âtash Behrâm Rs. 1,339-10-0. Out of this, substract Rs. 300 of my share. The balance Rs. 1,039-10 as share from Surat, as agreed upon by you. Its details:
 Rs. 139-10 From Mr. Nusserwanji Bahmanji.
 „ 300- 0 From Mr. Sohrabji Mancherji.
 „ 300- 0 Your share.
 „ 300- 0 From Mr. Dadabhai Manockji.

"From this account, we learn that the co-operation of the Surat Parsee leaders, referred to by Dastur Shapurji Sanjana in his poem, was a substantial money-payment. The first person, referred to in the poem, Nusserwan, son of Bahman, paid Rs. 139-10-0 as his contribution. The second person, Sohrab, who, as we see from the genealogical table, was the son of Mancherji, paid Rs. 300 as his mite. The third person, Darab, who is spoken of in the table and in the account book as Dadabhai (Darabji and Dadabhai are interchangeable names even now, the same person being called by these two names), paid Rs. 300. From the table, we see that he was the son of Khurshedji, a grandson of Rustam Mânock. But, as he was the adopted son of Mânockji Seth, he was called in the account book Dadabhai Mânockji.

“The fourth person, referred to in the poem, Minochehr, son of Khurshed, is the person with whom Desai Khurshedji's account ran. He paid Rs. 300.”

This statement of account supports the statement of the Qissch that the three Seth brothers and Seth Mancherji Khurshedji had promised to pay their mite for the expenses of the Atash Behram. They accordingly paid their share as promised in the account of Mancherji Seth. The account states the amount to be ‘આતશ બેહેરામના ખર્ચાની,’ i.e., “for the Atash Behram expenses.”

Besides his share of the payment in cash, we find that Mancherji Seth had played another prominent part in connection with the Naosari Fire-temple. From the same account book we learn that Mancherji Seth had come to Naosari and had distributed a sum of Rs. 906/- among the assembled priesthood of all the different denominations or ‘panthaks,’ on the day of the final opening or consecration of the Fire-temple.

We find that besides the cash payment, members of the Seth family had made gifts of land to disburse out of its income the annual expenses of the Atash Behram. (a) Dârâb or Dâdâbhâi Seth gave two pieces of land, of 27 ‘bighâs’ in area, at Naosari,¹ and (b) Mancherji Seth gave a piece of land known as *Kiârî*, (કેઆરી).²

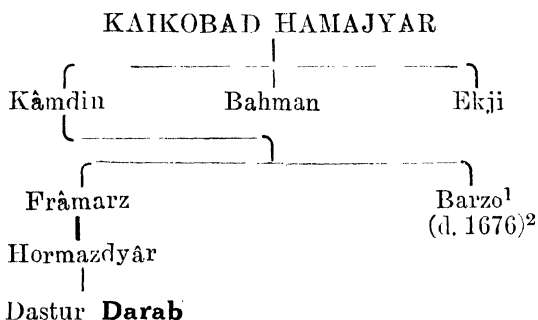
The Dastur Dârâb whose ‘nuskheh,’ i.e., “manuscript copy,” is referred to, as having been produced by Dastur Sohrâb, seems to be Dârâb Hormazdyâr, the learned compiler of the Rivâyat, known by his name. The other well-known compiler, Barzo Kâmdin, was his father's uncle. Both were the descendants of Nâgan Râm mentioned above.³ His line of descent from Nâgan Râm is as follows:—Nâgan

1 *Vide* above, p. 73; “The Parsee Prakash,” Vol. I, p. 863.

2 *Ibid.* *Vide* above, p. 75.

3 *Vide* above, p. 52.

Râm—Narsang—Kâmâ—Padam—Hamajyâr — Kaikobâd — Kâmdin—Frâmarz—Hormazdyâr—Dârâb. Bahman Kaikobâd, the well-known author of the Qisseh-i Sanjan, which our author generally follows in the early part of his Qisseh, was his grandfather's uncle. The following table of descent, drawn from their common ancestor Kaikobâd Hamajyâr, the sixth in the above line of descent, shows at a glance the relationship of these three learned Dasturs of the seventeenth century :—



The Rivâyat known as Dastur Dârâb Hormazdyâr's is not only a compilation but contains some original pieces composed by him. For a fuller account of his work, I will refer my readers to my Introduction to the lithographed edition of his Rivâyat.³ A 'nuskheh' written by him ('az khat-i Dârâb,' c. 595) is referred to in our Qisseh as very important. It is the MS. of his Rivâyat, known as "Dârâb Hormazdyâr's Rivâyat." In Ervad Manockji's lithographed

1 *Vide* Prof. S. H. Hodivala's Translation of the Qisseh-i-Sanjân, in his "Studies in Parsi History," (1920), for these three learned relatives. Foreword, pp. 92-95. Prof. Hodivala points out that Barzo Kâmdin is referred to even in the Dabistan; the "Tarrau of Busawari" is Barzo of Naosari (p. 93).

2 *Vide* "The Dishapothi of Naosari," published by the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Publication No. 6, Intro. p. 31.

3 "Dârâb Hormazdyâr's Rivâyat," by Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unvala, with my Introduction (1922), pp. 55-58.

edition, the section marked by me as section V in my list of Contents,¹ treats of Fires and Fire-temples.² There, in the subjects relating to the picking up of the fire burning a corpse, the sixteen fires and the founding of a Fire-temple are referred to at some length.³ A very old copy of the Rivâyat, in the handwriting of Dârâb Hormazdyâr himself, exists in the Bombay University Library. I have given a detailed description of this rare old MS. in my "Introduction."⁴ There are more than one colophons, bearing dates varying from the 11th May, 1678, to the 21st November, 1679.⁵

A 'Nuskheh' is referred to, a little above, in our Qisseh (c. 542), as having come from Iran ('ze Irân âmad-ast'). This seems to be a reference to the Rivâyat of Kâmah Bohrah, which Dârâb Hormazdyâr takes as his authority.⁶ Kâmah Bohrah's Rivâyat speaks, at some length, about Atash Behrams, and says that there must be an Atash Behram in a city where Zoroastrians live.

هرجائی که بهدینان و بسته کستیان باشند باید که آتش
ورهرام اندر آن شهر و جایگاه باشد⁶

Desai Jivanji Mânockji (1709-1773) was a leading Parsee of Naosari. I will repeat here

30. Desai Jivan
Manock. cc. 598-99.

what I have said elsewhere⁷: "During my visit to Naosari in May 1903, I saw a number of original letters and documents in which

1 "Dârâb Hormazdyâr's Rivâyat," Introduction, p. 59.

2 *Ibid.* pp. 60-78. 3 *Ibid.* pp. 69, 74, 76. 4 *Ibid.* pp. 38-39.

5 I have given the Christian dates, counting them from the Yazdejardi dates. *Vide Ibid.* pp. 38-39 for the dates.

6 *Ibid.* p. 76.

7 *Vide* my article: "Kisseh-i Âtash Behrâm-i Naosari" in the issue of the *Zartoshti*, dated Meher, 1278 Yazdejardi, Vol. VI, No. 3, p. 183, n. 3.

his name and that of Desai Khurshedji are mentioned in the beginning as those of prominent leaders of the Bhagaria priests. In some letters, his name is mentioned even before that of Desai Khurshedji." He was related to Desai Khurshedji from the ancestral line. Faridun Kâmdin bin Dastur Khurshed bin Dastur Behrâm Pâhlan was their common ancestor. Faridun Kâmdin's eldest son Homji was the ancestor of the "Mohta Desais" and his younger son Behram that of the "Poliâ Desais." The family tree of Desai Khurshedji given above¹ traces his descent.

We see from that tree that Desai Jivanji belonged to the "Poliâ Desai" family. His father Desai Mânockji Homjibhai (d. 1730) had come to the 'Desaigiri', on the death of his father Homjibhai in 1706. Jivanji came to the 'Desaigiri' in 1730. He had some dispute with Desai Khurshedji, whose family was known as that of the "Mohta Desais." In the time of Dâmâji Râo Gâikwâr, in 1746, the limits of the *vatans* of their Desaigiri were settled. He had great influence with the Court of the Gâikwârs and held a high position in the Parsee community of Naosari.² He was one of the addressees or signatories—his signature preceded that of Desai Khurshedji—in the following important documents of Naosari:—

(1) A document, dated the 5th April, 1732, declaring temporary peace between the Bhagaria and the Minochehromji priests who had separated from the Bhagarias.³

(2) A document, dated the 18th April, 1732, appointing some priests in charge of the 'panthak' of Gandevi.⁴

(3) A document, dated the 29th May, 1732, passed by the Sanjânâ Mobads, agreeing to resume the old stipulations

1 *Vide* above, facing p. 57.

2 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 50a.

3 *Ibid.* p. 28.

4 *Ibid.* p. 29.

as to officiating within their proper sphere of work.¹

(4) A document, dated the 3rd June, 1734, passed by the Rustampurâ Mobads to the Naosari Anjuman, accepting certain stipulations as to the performance of ecclesiastical duties at Surat.²

(5) A document, dated the 18th January, 1735, passed by the Behedins ("laymen") of Naosari to the Bhagaria priests, in virtue of the decision of Gangâji Râo Gâikwâr, referred to above, given in favour of the Bhagaria Mobads led by Desai Khurshedji.³

(6) A document, dated the 27th April, 1741, addressed by the leading Mobads of Naosari to Desai Khurshedji, authorising him to conduct proceedings in Court against the Sanjânâ and the Surat Mobads who had encroached upon their rights, first paying all the requisite expenses himself, and then recouping the same from the general income (સામા અણ) of the Bhagaria priests.

(7) A document, dated the 25th April, 1749, addressed by the Bombay Anjuman to the Naosari Anjuman in the matter of keeping the feet of dead bodies stretched out (સાથ, lit. "long") instead of folding (ઘુલેલ) them. The Bombay Anjuman wrote that they had resolved to leave the question to the choice of the people, that every one might do as he liked.⁵ At one time, this was one of the few burning questions relating to custom, in the matter of which there was a great difference of opinion.⁶

(8) A document, dated the 31st December, 1761, passed

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 29.

2 *Ibid.* p. 30.

3 *Ibid.* p. 31.

4 *Ibid.* p. 34.

5 *Ibid.* p. 38. *Vide* my "History of the Parsee Panchayet,"

Vol. I, p. 67.

6 For these questions, *vide* Mr. B. B. Patel's article in the "K. R. Cama Memorial Volume" edited by me.

by the Naosari Anjuman to Desai Khurshedji asking him to recoup, from the general income of the 'Bhagar-sâth' Mobads (ભગર સાથની રીત), Rs. 1091/- which he had paid on behalf of the Naosari Anjuman for erecting at Surat the *Padâni* Tower, i.e., the Tower in which the faces of dead bodies were covered with *padâns*.¹

(9) A document, dated the 6th May, 1735, passed by the Mobads of Surat to the Naosari people, accepting the terms of appointment offered to them to act as Mobads at Surat².

(10) An undated document of the year 1736 A.C., addressed by a number of Naosari leaders to Nawâb Tegbegkhân of Surat, requesting the Nawâb to send a duly certified copy of the decision in the case in which it was adjudged that the Naosari Mobads, domiciled in Surat, had the privilege to officiate in the houses of the Sanjânâ Mobads and the Naosari laymen who had settled at Surat for good to avoid the afflictions caused by the frequent inroads of the Mahrathas in Naosari.³

(11) A document, dated the 2nd November, 1823, passed by the Naosari leaders to the Mobad leaders of the Seth family, stating that there was no objection to eat flesh on the four *hamkârâ* days—Bahman, Mohr, Gosh, and Râm.⁴ At one time, the Parsee Punchayet of Bombay insisted that the Parsees should abstain from eating flesh on the days associated with Bahman, the Yazata presiding over animals. The Naosari Mobads objected to that prohibition.⁵

Desai Jivanji was one of the members of the deputation which was sent to Gangâji Râo Gâikwâr at Sungadh, on

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 44.

2 *Ibid.* p. 852.

3 *Ibid.* p. 853.

4 *Ibid.* p. 878.

5 *Vide my "History of the Parsee Punchayet,"* Vol. I, p. 275.

behalf of the Bhagaria Mobads, in the matter of the long-standing dispute with the Sanjânâ Mobads,¹ on the 5th September, 1740. His eldest son, Tehmulji (1728-1778), succeeded him to the office of 'Desaigiri,' and was presented with a dress of honour (झर चाद) by Fatehsing Gâikwâr,² in 1777.

Rão Kedârji was the ruling Gâikwâr of Naosari at

31. Rão Kodârji. the time of consecration of the Atash
c. 718. Behram of Naosari, in 1765 A.C.

Our author gives his name Shâpur in the preceding part of the Qisseh (c. 505); but, he gives his full name at the end: Shâpur, son of Mânock, son of Behrâm, descendant (naslash, cc. 767-73) of Dastur Neryo-sang son of Dhawal. He calls himself a Mobad by profession ('mûbadi mi-sâzad,' c. 771). As stated above, he lived from 1735 to 1805. He does not give in his Qisseh the date of composing it. As the Atash Behram, of which he gives the account, was consecrated in 1765 A.C., he must have written the Qisseh in or after 1765, on or after attaining the age of thirty-five. Mr. Bahmanji B. Patel says³ that he had taken some part in the preparation and consecration of the Naosari Atash Behram, but, he adds, later on, that he has no written authority⁴ for this statement which he had heard from one of the descendants of Shâpur's family, to whom the information may have come down orally. But, from the fact that our author speaks of his being a Mobad by profession, it seems quite probable that he may be one of the hundred Mobads selected for the performance of the ritual. As he was well-versed in religious lore, which he had acquired from his learned uncle, Dastur Rustam Behrâm, who was a preceptor of several persons,

1 See above, p. 59; "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 854.

2 Ibid. p. 57.

3 Ibid. p. 102.

4 Ibid. p. 870.

who turned out great Dasturs and, as he was also a practising Mobad, it is more than probable that he should have been one of the hundred Mobads selected for the ceremony of consecration of the Naosari Atash Behram.

Dastur Shapurji seems to have acquired all his religious knowledge from his uncle Dastur Rustamji Behramji (1719-1791), who was a learned Dastur of Surat. Dastur Rustamji is said to have translated the *Khurda* Avesta and the *Hâdokht Nask* into Persian, as also Dastur Âdarbâd Mârespand's *Pâzand* commentary of the *Hâdokht Nask*.¹ Dastur Rustamji is said to have prepared a translation of this kind, in 1778, at the instance of Mr. Dhanjibhai Mancherji Readymoney,² and to have assisted in the performance of the ceremony of preparing the Naosari Atash Behram. He was the preceptor of Dasturs Kâusji and Frâmji Sohrâbji Meherji Rânâ of Naosari and of Dastur Kâusji Rustamji of Surat.

Dastur Rustam Behrâm was the founder of the learned Sanjânâ family of Dasturs of Surat and Bombay. (a) He seems to be the signatory to a document, dated the 16th July, 1691, addressed to the Behedins by the Sanjânâ Mobads residing in Naosari, wherein it is stated that they would associate only with those Bhagaria Mobads, who were accepted by the Behedins to officiate as priests in their houses, and not with those who were not accepted.³ So, it seems that he was one of the Sanjânâ priests of Naosari. It seems that, in spite of the split between the Sanjânâ and Bhagaria priests, some Sanjânâ priests associated themselves with the Bhagaria priests and, possibly, followed all the rules and regulations of the latter and were, therefore, taken to be Bhagarias. In the genealogical

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, pp. 74 and 870.

2 *Ibid.* p. 57 ; p. 397, n. 4.

3 *Ibid.* p. 848.

tree of the family given above, at the commencement of this paper, I have represented Nawroji (1743-1819) as Dastur Rustam's second son and Dorabji (1746-1821) as the eldest son, but I have found out my mistake, as Nawroji was the eldest son.¹

Behram Dâdâ Sanjânâ, grand-father of Dastur Shâpur Mânock Sanjânâ, is one of the signatories to a document from Surat, dated the 6th May, 1735,² passed to Desais Kukâji Meherji, Jivanji Mânockji and Khurshedji Tehmulji, acknowledging the nomination by them of himself and another signatory, Dâdâji Jamshedji Barjoji, to officiate as priests in Rustampurâ and elsewhere, and undertaking to submit an account of all sacerdotal income, such as fees for marriage, naojote, etc., and further undertaking not to object to other Mobads being sent to the place if the Naosari people chose. This document shows that some Sanjânâ priests had associated themselves with the Bhagaria and had come to be classed as Bhagarias.

Dastur Shâpurji and his uncle, Dastur Rustamji Behrâmji Sanjânâ, were signatories to a letter, dated the 30th May, 1773, addressed by the Dasturs of Naosari to the Bombay Parsee Punchayet in reply to an inquiry of theirs. An epidemic raged in Bombay, in 1773, causing many deaths. The platform of the Tower of Silence, on which the dead bodies were exposed, was all full. The Bombay Anjuman, therefore, asked the advice of the Naosari priests.³ Eleven persons who signed the reply, recommended the construction of a temporary structure. Among the signatories, we find the names of the uncle Dastur Rustamji

1 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, pp. 145 and 154. See "The Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 17, p. 7.

2 "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 852.

3 *Vide* my "History of the Parsee Punchayet," Vol. I, pp. 93-95.

Behramji Sanjânâ and his nephew, our author, Dastur Shâpurji Mânockji Sanjânâ.¹

Our author, with his uncle Dastur Rustamji, was also a leading signatory to a Surat document, dated the 7th February, 1781. Therein, it is stated that, whereas owing to the Mahratha depredations, the Parsecs had lost all their wealth and property, the people of the Naosari Anjuman, who had gone to reside at Surat, had agreed amongst themselves to curtail the marriage expenses, and to reduce the total amount of presentation to the parents of the bridegroom to Rs. 7/-.²

Our author is said to have come to Bombay and died here³ on the 25th January, 1805. Mânockji Behrâmji (આ. માણેજી બેરુમજી), a signatory to a document, dated the 13th July, 1795,—stating his views for the information of the Court that the person adopted must be from the male line of the deceased and not from the female line,—might be Shâpurji's father. As his father was in Bombay, Shâpurji himself might have accompanied or followed him.

Parsee tradition speaks of a Neryosang as the priest who had led the first emigrant Parsees before Râjâ Jâdi Rânâ (Jayadeo),⁴ ruler of Sanjan, and requested his permission to land there. All the Mobads of India trace their descent from a Neryosang and his contemporary relatives. Both these Neryosangs cannot be one and the same person. As to Neryosang son of Dhaval,⁵ mentioned

1 *Vide* "The Parsee Prakash," Vol. I, p. 55.

2 *Ibid.* p. 59.

3 *Ibid.* p. 101.

4 *Vide* above pp. 44-45. He is the very first personage treated in this section.

5 "Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society," Vol. XVI, pp. 74-87.

in our Qisseh: according to Dr. Führer, Dr. Haug placed him in the fifteenth century.¹

Dr. West² also once placed him in the fifteenth century, but he modified his opinion later on. I had the pleasure of studying the question in 1891 at his suggestion, and I placed Neryosang Dhaval in the twelfth century A.C.³ I had corresponded with Dr. West on the subject at the time, and I found that he agreed with me. He wrote:—"After considering it carefully, I have come to much the same conclusion as yourself as to the time of Neryosang, but by a somewhat different method.....So, we may conclude from this data, that Neryosang flourished in the latter part of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, as you have also concluded from other data."⁴ The tradition as to Neryosang Dhaval having gone to the Indian Rājā, explained the Zoroastrian doctrines in sixteen *shlokas*, and consecrated the first Atash Behram in India, five years after the immigration, seems to have no written authority. Had that been the case, the Qisseh-i Sanjan and our present Qisseh would have mentioned the fact.⁵

1 Haug's paper: "Ueber den Gegenwärtigen Stand der Zend Philologie", (i.e., The Present State of Zend Philology), p. 6.

2 Dr. E. W. West's "Mainyo-i Kherad" (1871), p. X, and his second edition of Haug's "Essays on the Parsis" (1878), p. 55. His "Pahlavi Texts," Part I, S.B.E. (1880), Vol. V, p. 196.

3 *Vide* the report of my paper before the "Zartoshti Din-ni Khol Karnari Mandali," published in the Report of 1902, pp. 196-200. *Vide* my "Iranian Essays, Part III (ઇરાની વિષયો, ભાગ ૩ એ)," pp. 197-203.

4 Dr. E. W. West's letter to me dated the 8th July, 1891, published in my "Iranian Essays, Part III," page 199 n.

5 *Vide* "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society from a Parsee Point of View," pp. 95-96.

VIII

A FEW PRINCIPAL EVENTS REFERRED TO IN
THE QISSEH.

1. THE EXODUS.

Now, I will speak of a few principal events, referred to in the Qisseh.

1. *The Exodus of the Parsees to India*

The principal event, the event of events, with which the other events of the *Qisseh* are connected, is that of the Exodus, the Emigration of the Parsees from Persia to India. I will speak of it and of other secondary events associated with it at some length.

The ancient Persians, the ancestors of the modern Parsees, had previously come into contact with India more than once. I have spoken at full length elsewhere¹ on the references to India in the Avesta. Leaving aside, as pre-historic, the question of their contact with, and rule in, the different parts of India, in the times of the Peshdâdian and Kayânian dynasties, referred to by Ferishta,² on the authority of older Muhammadan writings, in his "Târikh," when we come to the historical Achæmenian time and to times after that, we find that they had made long stays in India. When one speaks of the Emigration of the Parsees into India, what is meant is the Exodus after the final downfall of the Persian Empire at the hands of the Arabs.

1 "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," Vol. IX, No. 10, pp. 427-36. *Vide my* "Asiatic Papers," Part II, p. 201 *et seq.*

2 *Vide* Brigg's "Ferishta," Introduction. For a brief summary of that contact, *vide my* "Glimpse into the work of the B.B. Royal Asiatic Society," *op. cit.*, p. 145.

The Qisseh-i Sanjan says that the Avesta has referred to, *i.e.*, has predicted, the fall of Iran at the hands of the Arabs, and that it is said in the Avesta that a tyrannical king¹ will put in an appearance. Before we proceed further, let us see if, as said in the Qisseh, there is any prediction in the Avesta about the coming events of the devastation of Persia by foreigners. Perhaps, it is a passage of the 'Great Haptan Yasht' (Yasna, Ha XLII, 4), that is referred to. It is taken by later writers to have been a prophecy of the coming devastation. In that passage, an extraordinary ass (کسره 'khara') is mentioned as having appeared in the sea Vourukasha (*i.e.*, the Caspian).

There we read:

وایسده دایسه . وایسده دایسه . وایسده دایسه .
 وایسده دایسه . وایسده دایسه . وایسده دایسه .
 وایسده دایسه . وایسده دایسه . وایسده دایسه .
 وایسده دایسه . وایسده دایسه . وایسده دایسه .

Translation: "We invoke the (fish) 'Vâsi' of fifty 'dvara' ("doors"?). We invoke the holy 'Khara' ("ass") which stands in the middle of the sea Vouru-kasha (Caspian)."

1 سترگه c. 79. R. B. Paymaster's "Qisseh-i Sanjan," p. 4, l. 1. Eastwick, Rabadi, the anonymous translator in verse, Paymaster, and Hodivala have taken the second word to be 'Sheh' (shâh), "king." I think that the word 'Sheh' (شه) is miswritten for 'se' (سه), *i.e.*, "three," because three events are spoken of just in the next line (c. 80).

These two animals, 'Vâsi' and 'Khara,' are referred to in the Bundelesh. Of the first we read:

Reference to the Avesta passage in the Bundelesh. 'Vâsi panjâh-sadvarân râe paetâk âig dayen zareh Frâhokant robait'.¹

"It is known of the (fish) *panjâh-sadvarân* that it moves in the sea Frâhokant."

This Frâhokant of the Bundelesh is the Vouru-kasha of the Avesta. It is a Pahlavi rendering of the Avesta Vouru-kasha.²

The Pahlavi Bundelesh speaks of this fish as follows:

"Its length is as much as that of the distance which a man can cover by a fast run from early dawn to sunset. It cannot, owing to its enormous size, travel the distance of its own length. It is also said that it has the guardianship under which aqueous objects live."³

This explanation of the fish, as given in the Bundelesh, shows that it seems to be a reference to a grand natural phenomenon in the Caspian⁴ Sea.

As to the second animal, 'Khara,' mentioned in the Avesta Haptân Yasht, we read in the Bundelesh:

'Khamrâ-i tartâ regalman râe immallund âig miân-i zareh Frâhokant iqvimûnêt.'⁵

"It is said of the three-legged ass that it stands in the midst of the sea Frâhokant, i.e., the Caspian."

Whilst describing the animal, the Bundelesh says:

"It has three legs, six eyes, nine mouths, two ears, one horn and a white body. Its food is spiritual and it is

1 Chap. XVIII, 7. *Vide* my 'Text and Translation of the Bundelesh' in Gujarati (1901), pp. 76-77.

2 *Vide* my 'Dictionary of the Avestan Proper Names.'

3 *Vide* my 'Bundelesh,' *op. cit.*, p. 77.

4 I think that the later form, Caspian, is a rendering of the Avesta 'Vourukasha' and Pahlavi 'Frâhokant.' The second part of the word, 'kasha,' has changed its position.

5 'Bundelesh,' Chap. XIX, 1; S.B.E., Vol. V, p. 65. *Vide* my 'Bundelesh,' *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.

holy. Of its six eyes, two are in the usual place of the eyes, two in the upper part of the head and two in the direction of the shoulders."¹ "By means of the sharpness of its six eyes, the ass harms and kills people. Of its nine mouths, three are in the head, three on the shoulders and three in the inner part of the sides. Each of its mouths is as big as a house. The ass itself is like the mountain Alvand."²

Then there follows a further account which associates this ass with Tishtar, the Yazata presiding over the rain, who is represented as drawing up the water to its tower ('bârz') with the help of the ass. All this description of the ass shows that it is a reference to a natural phenomenon occurring in the Caspian. Ordinarily it prognosticated a change of weather, but in extraordinary cases of rare occurrence the phenomenon seems to have been taken as prognosticating the coming of an unusual event. We know that some unusual phenomena of Nature, *e.g.*, the total eclipse of the Sun, were occasionally taken as prognostications of coming events.

The great Russian scholar, Inostransev, whom I will refer to later on, refers to a prophecy prevalent at the time of a coming event. As that prophecy is also associated with the mention of an ass, he very properly connects that prophecy with the prophecy mentioned above, which seems to have been drawn from the appearance of a very rare and extraordinary natural phenomenon occurring in the Caspian Sea.³ Inostransev refers to a certain prophecy, but he does not refer to the Avestan origin of this prediction because he does not seem to have read the Qisseh-i Sanjan as a whole. He has based his paper only on the passages of the Qisseh given by

1 My 'Bundehehsh,' pp. 76-77. 2 *Ibid.* pp. 78-79.

3 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute" No. 1 - 50

me and on my views based on the passages. Had he seen the passage of the Qisseh mentioned above, referring to a prophecy in the Avesta, he would have found that his view of the prophecy is supported by the statement in the Qisseh-i Sanjan. His independent reference to a prophecy, however, seems to support what is said in the Qisseh about the Avestan prophecy.

The Mount Alvand, referred to in the passage of the Bundelesh quoted above, is identified by Dr. West with the mountain of Elwand near Hamadân.¹ Mr. Inostransev differs from Dr. West² and says that it may be identified with the word *bend* used by the Arab writer, Ibn-al-Faqih. I think that Dr. West's identification is correct. In the passage of the Bundelesh only a comparison is attempted; what the writer seems to mean is this that the height of the ass ('khar') was as much as that of the Elwand, a high mountain of Persia.

Instead of Alvand, the Pâzand Bundelesh³ reads the name as 'Hunâvand', which seems to have been a later interpretation by the Pâzand transcriber, because there is no mountain of that name in Persia.

The mountain Hunâvand of the Pâzand Bundelesh. But, as it was against a tribe or offshoot of the Huns against whose inroads, later on, Naushirwân had built a barrier ('band', 'vand'), a wall there, the Pâzand writer seems to have interpreted Alvand as Hunâvand, i.e., the *band* or barrier against the Huns. Arab writers have called it 'Bâb-al-abwâb' (بابا لاواب), "the Gate of gates,"

1 I had the pleasure of visiting this mountain on the 3rd November, 1925. For an account of the visit, *vide* my Gujarati "Book of Travels outside Bombay", pp. 369-373.

2 His article, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

3 *Vide* the "Pâzand Texts," edited by Ervad Edalji K. Antia, p. 33 *et seq.*

i.e., the largest of gates. The Persian writers have named it as 'Darband' and the name has continued upto now.

The Pahlavi 'Minokherad' on the subject of the three-legged ass.

The 'Mino-kherad,' (Chap. LXII, 26-7),¹ also refers to this ass which, it says, was "three-legged."

The "three-legged ass," that is referred to, is a physico-geographical phenomenon of the water-spout. Professor Darmesteter² explains it as a meteorological phenomenon, wherein the

clouds and the storm that drift the clouds are personified. The Caspian is very stormy. I had the pleasure of seeing it at Baku and at Darband.³ At Darband stands the great historical wall of Naushirwân,⁴ Even now, we read at times that steamers going to the opposite shore of Resht, the port on the way to Teheran, have to wait for hours to secure a safe landing.

The Arab writers have named the 'Vouru-kasha' or the Caspian as the 'Sea of Khazar' or 'Jurjân' or of 'Tabaris-tân.' As to the first name, the Gurjars, who latterly gave their name to the Indian province of Gujarat and to some places in the North of India, are said to have come down from a tribe of the Khazars,⁵ who, in their turn, seem to be a branch

1 *Vide* West's translation in S.B.E., Volume XXIV, p. 111.

2 'Ormazd et Ahriman,' p. 148.

3 For an account of my visit to the Caspian, Baku and Darband *vide* my "Book of Travels outside Bombay" (ગુજરાત બહારની સહેલ, pp. 256 *et seq.*)

4 For an account of this wall, *vide* my paper: "The Great Wall of China. A similar wall of King Nowshirwan (Chosroes I) of Persia," (Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. LXXV of 1923, pp. 265-284. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part III, pp. 195-214.)

5 *Vide* my Gujarati paper: "ગુજરાતને નામ આપનારા ગુર્જરા," read on the 29th June, 1929, before the Gujarat Vernacular Society, at Ahmedabad. *Vide* my Gujarati "Dnyan Prasarak Essays," Part V (in the Press), pp. 39 ff.

of the Huns.¹

Inostransev quotes the Arab writer, Ibn-al-Faqih, who says: "When the Sasanian Shâh Anûshirwân occupied the Caspian Gate (Derbend) and conducted the wall and the mole (الفتد, Persian بند = dam, embankment), which protected the same, into the sea, he praised God, Who had predicted his erecting the wall and conquering the enemy and, after having prayed for a happy return home, he lay down to rest. Then out of the sea rose a water-spout, covering the whole horizon, and with it a *cloud*, which hid the light, and directed itself towards the wall. Those, who were with the Shâh, proposed to avert the adversity by throwing of arrows, but Anûshirwân awoke and calmed them, saying, that, according to God's will, he had to be absent from his country for twelve years in order to erect this wall and to possess himself of one of the inhabitants of the sea. Then the water-spout approached the wall and declared to the Shâh, that he, the inhabitant of this sea, had seen this wall erected seven times and seen it destroyed seven times, but, that all the inhabitants of this sea were aware, that a ruler, such as Anûshirwân, should erect this wall for good. Thereafter, the water-spout disappeared in the sea."²

The Prophecy of a natural phenomenon associated with Naushirwan's Wall.

This account of the natural phenomenon in the sea near Darband, the Caspian Gate, is, as it were, a reminiscence of the phenomenon referred to in the Bundesh which itself seems to have been based on a chapter of the Yasna. •

1 For the Huns, *vide* my paper on "The Early History of the Huns and their Inroads in India and Persia" (Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXIV, pp. 537-595. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part II, pp. 293-349).

2 Inostransev's article *op. cit.* "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, p. 51.

Qazvini¹ takes this animal to be a sea-dragon, a hydra, and signifying a "sea-hurricane." Qazvini quotes as authority 'Abdullâh ibn 'Abbâs. "Qazvini on the Natural Phenomenon." "...the cousin of Muhammed 'Abdullâh ibn 'Abbâs was a grandfather of Muhammed-ibn-'Alî,—the father of the first 'Abbâssid Caliphs, Saffâh and Mansûr,—who commenced.....the 'Abbâssid propaganda 'A.H. 100.'" ² This Muhammed ibn Ali was known to have "the gift of prediction." Now, with Ibn-'Abbâs is also associated the legend of Ezdra and his ass. "The tradition about the water-spout and the prophetic significance of the 'Year of the ass' must have played a considerable role in the books relative to the fates of the 'Abbassids.'" ³

Anyhow, whatever the true explanation of the physico-geographical or meteorological phenomenon may be, it seems that the phenomenon was taken to be the prediction of a future event. Naushirwân and some later Arab writers took it to be so. Inostransev takes it to be, as given in the Bundeshesh, a prediction of the fall of the Empire, which led, a hundred years later, to the Zoroastrian Exodus to India.

In this connection, what is said about such a prediction in Yazdajard's life-time or before it, is worth noting. Inostransev says: "Pseudo-Bulkhi (text 165, translation 150) narrates that in the treasury of Yazdegerd's Captain Hurmuzân, the Arabs found an Arabic book with predictions about everything which shall happen upto the day of judgment.'" ⁴ If the information is correct, the book must be an Arabic version of the Pahlavi Jâmâspi. ⁵

1 "Zakariya ben Muhammed ben Mahmud el Qazvini's Kosmograp-
hy," herausgegeben von F. Wüstenfeld, I, 129.

2 Inostransev's paper, *op. cit.* p. 53.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 53-54.

4 *Ibid.* p. 48, n. 1.

5 *Vide my 'Jâmâspi,'* Text p. 18, Translation p. 19 *et seq.*

The prophecy may be briefly stated as follows:—There occurred occasionally in the sea 'Vouru-Kasha' (the Caspian) which was subject to great storms, some great natural phenomena, caused by changes of atmospheric pressure. These phenomena took the shape of water-spouts which, when seen from a distance, looked like an ass. As is often the case, people associate, with unusual natural phenomena, the ideas of the occurrence of great events. We see this illustrated in the case of great eclipses. Eclipses, in themselves, are not unusual, but total eclipses of the sun are rare. When eclipses take place, they are supposed to forebode evil.¹ Similarly, storms were not rare in the Caspian, but great storms, with the unusual phenomena of big water-spouts and with the formation of clouds which covered the sun, were rare. These phenomena, with water-spouts in the form of an ass, must be very rare, and, these appearances, in the form of three-legged asses, were rarer still. Just as, in Persia, people associated fateful years at the end or at the commencement of a millennium,² with predictions of bad events, they also associated periods of a hundred years with such predictions. Amongst the Muhammadans, as pointed out by Inostransev, the years at the end or at the beginning of a new century were known as "ass years." It seems that the idea of predictions of evil events, when water-spouts appeared in the form of an ass, had passed on to the entertainment of the ideas about "ass years."

1 *Vide* my paper on eclipses, entitled "A Few Ancient Beliefs about the Eclipse and a Few Superstitions based on those Beliefs." *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. III, No. 6, pp. 346-360. *Vide* my "Anthropological Papers," Pt. I, pp. 51-66.

2 Pahlavi: 'hazârah'. Even now, in India, people attribute unlucky events, not only to the end of a millenium or a century, but even to the end of a decade, to the tenth, twentieth, thirtieth and other years of two digits with a cipher at the end, called ॥'sidi ॥.

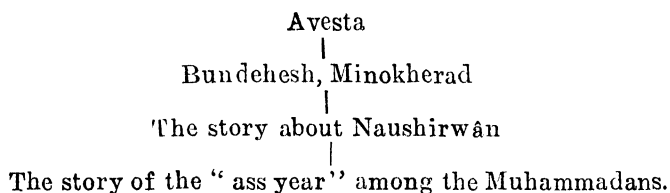
There is another important point which seems to have escaped the attention of Inostransev. It is the number "three." The ass, referred to in the Bundelesh, was "three-legged," 'Khar-i talâtâ-regalman,' and the events of evil end, referred to in the Qisseh-i Sanjan, which happened in the long period of the history of Persia, are also three ('se-bâreh,' c. 80). The importance of this number "three" leads me to suggest, that the word 'sheh' (شہ) in 'setamgar sheh' (c. 79) must have been written by mistake for 'se' (س = "three").

Though Inostransev had no knowledge of the reference in the Qisseh-i Sanjan to the prediction in the Avesta, he thought that the tradition and belief connected with the "ass" and the "ass years," falling at the end of a century, had come down to the Muhammadans. The Umayyads ruled as Khalifs in Persia for a hundred years and the 'Abbâssids then came to power. Their coming to power had produced a great commotion. The year of the Parsee Exodus from Khorâsân was the year of the commotion, caused by the coming of the Abbâssids to the Khalifate and power. This commotion, therefore, may possibly be the cause, which led the Parsees to leave Kohistân in Khorâsân after a stay there of a hundred years.

Inostransev considers the Bundelesh to have been compiled in the ninth or the tenth century A.C. So, the events of the eighth century, *viz.*, (a) the Exodus of the Zoroastrians from Kohistân to the shores of the Persian Gulf, and (b) the coming of the 'Abbâssids to power, were known to the last writers or compilers of the Bundelesh. Thus, the association of the sudden appearance of the ass (water-spout) in the Caspian Sea, with a sort of prediction leading to the belief in "the year of the ass" seems to have suggested to Inostransev that "in the Bundelesh, were somehow reflected

the events of the history of Islam in the middle of the VIIIth century." Thus, Inostransev takes the appearance of the water-spout in the Bundelesh to be a reference to two events,—the 'Abbâssid ascendancy to power and, as its result, the Exodus of the Zoroastrians from Khorâsân, a hundred years after the death of Yazdajard. It is something like the association of Alexander's invasion of Persia with a whirlwind.¹

The evolution of the tradition of the ass, from age to age, may be as follows:—



Among the Muhammadans, the prophecy was associated with the commotion caused by the fall of the Umayyids and the rise of the 'Abbâssids.

Of course, in the Avesta, there is simply a reference to the rare phenomenon of the water-spout in the Caspian appearing in the form of an ass. It is the Bundelesh that makes it " a three-legged ass." This may possibly be due to the fact that, in the times of the writer, the water-spout may have appeared, on very rare occasions, in the form of "a three-legged ass."

We have seen above that the phenomenon of the ass-water-spout led to the first year of a new century being called an "ass year." Thus, a person, associated with an event of the century, has also come to be called "the ass." Marwân, the last Umayyad Khalif, was called 'al-humâr' (الحمار), i.e., "the ass." "He was thus surnamed from the 'year of the

A Person came to
be associated with
the "Ass."

1 "Essais Orientaux," by Darmesteter, p. 246. '

'Ass,' from the fact that, during his reign, the Centenary of the Ummayyid dynasty was drawing near and the Arabs applied that term to the beginning of each century." We have noticed above that the flight from Khorâsân to Hormuz (751 A.C.), was associated with the commotion caused by the 'Abbâssids coming to power in 751 A.C. Some of these 'Abbâssids said: "We are afraid that the new era might be ruined by the innovations of the Zoroastrian order."¹

According to the Qisseh-i Sanjan, it was predicted that the Zoroastrian religion would be devastated three times ('se bâreh,' c. 80).² The downfall of the Zoroastrian religion took place thrice at the following³ periods:—

(a) At the time of Alexander's invasion.⁴ The result of the devastation at his hands lasted for three hundred years. It is not clear which period is supposed to have been covered by these three hundred years. If the time referred to be that of the revival of religion by Ardashir Bâbagân, the number, three hundred, is under the mark, because the battle of Arbela, in which the Persians were

1 Ya'qûbi, *O.c.*, II, 392. Cf. G. van Vloten: "Recherches sur la domination arabe, le chiitisme, et les croyances messianique sous le Khalifat des Omayyades, *Verh. der koninkl. Akad. van Wetenschte Amsterdam*, Afd. Letterkunde, I, No. 3,57," as quoted by Inostransev. *Vide* "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, p. 46.

2 Paymaster's edition p. 4, l. 2.

3 The Pahlavi 'Jâmâspi,' when seemingly prophesying the great misfortunes that were to overtake Irân, speaks of *three* such occasions, though it differs in the mention of the events. It speaks of "three great wars" ('kârizâr-i rabâ'). *Vide* my "Jâmâspi", p. 19 of the Text; Chap. II, pp. 36-37 of the Translation.

4 For the destruction of the religious literature at the hands of Alexander, *vide* my paper "Alexander the Great and the Destruction of the Ancient Literature of the Parsees at his hands" read before the Second Oriental Conference at Calcutta. *Vide* my "Oriental Conference Papers," pp. 58 ff.

defeated by Alexander, was fought in 331 B.C. and Ardashir Bâbagân came to power in about 226 A.C. The period, thus, should be $(331 + 226 =)$ 657 or nearly 700 years. If the time were that of the loss of power by the Greeks and the coming to power of the Parthians, the period, *viz.*, three hundred years, is above the mark. Perhaps, the writer meant the end of the period to be the time of the coming of the Parthian rulers. The Parthians, though not of the same line as the ancient Achæmenian Persians, were Zoroastrians. Ardashir Bâbagân is mentioned, in the Qisseh-i Sanjan, as one who brought about the revival of religion after the conquest of Alexander. There were partial revivals even before his time. For example, Valkhash (Vologeses of the Parthian dynasty) is mentioned in Parsee books as having brought about a revival before Ardashir. But Ardashir brought about a great revival in which his prelate Ardâ Virâf was his great helpmate.¹

(b) Shâpûr II brought about the second revival after the second downfall of religion. Our Qisseh-i Zartushtiân-i Hindustân does not refer to this second downfall. There was, perhaps, no regular downfall of the Empire or of religion, but there was a further revival under Shapur II, who was helped by his prelate Âdarbâd Mârespand. This revival took place after the heresy of Mâni.

(c) The third downfall occurred about a thousand years ('hazârah') after the birth of the prophet Zoroaster² (c. 96).

1 *Vide* my "History of the Zoroastrian Religion" in Gujarati (જરથેશ્ત્રી ધર્મની 'ત્રણસીસ'), p. 99.

2 'Chûn az Zartusht sâl âmad hazâr' (c. 96 of the Qisseh-i Sanjan, Mr. Paymaster's 'Kisseh-i Sanjan,' p. 4). This statement of the Qisseh is somewhat significant though the number of years, *viz.*, a thousand, is under the mark. It supports what is said by a number of Pahlavi writers that Zoroaster lived about three hundred years before Alexander, *i.e.*, in the seventh century B.C.

It was the time of the downfall of Yazdajard at the hands of the Arabs. The writer of the *Qisseh-i Sanjan* does not mention the name of the conquering nation as that of the Arabs, but simply speaks of them as 'Jud-dins' (جده دین, c. 97).¹ The author of our *Qisseh*, Dastur Shâpurji Sanjânâ, does not refer to any previous downfall in the time of Shâpûr. He refers only to the last downfall brought about by the Arabs. Without naming the Arabs, he says that it came from the 'Jud-din' (c. 104). He then adds that those who had their faith in the Zand and the Pâzand (*i.e.*, in Zoroastrianism), were dispersed ('parâgand,' c. 106). They were in concealment for a hundred years and remained in Kohistân. When they met with the oppression of the Jud-dins there also, they went to the city of Hormuz. There, too, they met with oppression at the hands of the Jud-dins; after a stay of fifteen years there, they left for India for the sake of religion ('ze behr-i din,' c. 118).

Before proceeding further, we may note here that, though the Arabs seem apparently to have permitted the conquered nations to follow their religion, it was not really so.

Many authors have made this assertion, but I will quote the words of a comparatively recent writer who speaks specially of the Parsees. C. Snuch Hurgroupe, Professor of Arabic in the University of Leiden, says:—

“Certainly the nations conquered by the Arabs under the first khalifs were not obliged to choose between living as Moslems or dying as unbelievers.....They were allowed to adhere to their religion, provided they helped with their taxes to fill the Moslem exchequer. This rule was even extended to such religions as that of the Parsis,...

1 Mr. Paymaster's '*Kisseh-i Sanjan*,' p. 4.

.....The social condition of these subjects was gradually made so oppressive by the Mahomedan masters, that rapid conversions in masses were a natural consequence."¹

Some other migrations are mentioned by some authors as the result of the oppressive policy of the Arabs. For example, (a) the migration of the Beni-Israels from Persia to Cheul on the Western Coast of India, a few miles to the South of Bombay,² and (b) the migration of some Christians to the Malabar Coast.

The story of the Exodus of the Zoroastrians from Persia, as given in the Qisseh, is simple. It is just what it ought to have been in other cases under similar and even under milder circumstances. The story of the Pilgrim Fathers of America is nearly the same, though not entirely identical with the events in Persia. When "the Anglican policy of Elizabeth, and James and Charles I, proceeded on this principle that to allow diversity was to destroy unity, to permit the growth of elements that would prove fatal to the church, involve the denial of the royal authority and the break up of the State.....religious men who could not conform, went to live in lands and under laws where obedience to conscience was possible."³

The points of similarity in both these cases are briefly the following: (1) In both the cases, the people left their fatherland for the sake of their religion. (2) In both the cases, there was "double emigration," i.e., emigration to more than one place. (3) In both the cases, the people finally settled and flourished as a colony. (4) Both the

1 "American Lectures on the History of Religions, Mohammedanism," 1916, by Professor C. Snuch Hurgroupe, pp. 63-64.

2 S. M. Edwardes, "Bombay."

3 Dr. Fairbairn in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," Ninth Edition, Vol. XII, p. 736.

communities met with storms in their wanderings. (5) Both the communities had to enter into agreement with the rulers of their adopted countries. (6) Both the communities maintained their places of settlement, as separate colonies, at least for some time. (7) Both the communities had to struggle for existence at first. (8) Both the communities, after some time, founded other settlements for their people.¹

The statement, as regards the Exodus, in our Qisseh as well as in the Qisseh-i Sanjan, which the former seems to have taken as its authority for the earlier part of its history, is supported by some historical facts, by other contemporary events that had happened in Persia. Inostransev speaks of them as "historico-cultural and geographical considerations."²

This Russian scholar has written a learned paper on this subject³ which, like the papers of Rehatsek mentioned below, supports the occurrence of the event on the ground of other historical events that happened in Persia. He dwells at some length on the historical events referred to by Rehatsek. He has based his paper on the information of the Emigration supplied in my book: "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates (1905)." I note with pleasure his statement that I have "proved the erroneousness of the dates accepted"⁴ by others, for the

1 *Vide* my "Dastur Bahman Kaikobad and the Kisseh-i-Sanjan," pp. 12-13.

2 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, p. 40.

3 "The Emigration of the Parsis to India and the Musalman world in the midst of the VIIIth century," translated from the Russian of K. Inostransev by Mr. L. Bogdanov, 1922. "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, pp. 33-70.

4 *Ibid.* p. 34, n. 2.

Exodus of the Parsees from Persia and their arrival in India and, among them, by the writer in the "Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie" (II, 698). He thinks that using the chronological materials given by the Qisseh-i Sanjan, I have "established the time of the emigration."¹

I have counted the dates of the departure of the Parsees from various places, from the date of the death of Yazdajard, and he considers that the "point of departure" adopted by me in my "calculations is quite correct..... That has also been acknowledged by the Arab writers, who inform us that only with his death the existence of the Persian realm came to its end and that the Persians began the new chronology from that particular moment; thus, for instance, Dinâverî, relating about the death of Yezdegerd, says: 'This happened in the sixth year of the Caliphate of Osman, *i.e.*, in the thirtieth year of the Hijra; it was then that the independent existence of the Persian realm came to its end, and upto the present day the Persians base their chronology on the date of this event.' ('Kitâb-al-ahbâr-attiwâl,' ed. W. Guirgass, p. 149.)"³

We know that some Zoroastrian principalities existed in the mountainous districts of the Alburz range in the North. One of such mountainous districts was Tabaristân including Kohistân in Khorâsân. We find an interesting account of these Zoroastrian principalities, based on the Muhammadan histories of Tabaristân, in Professor E. Rehatsek's paper, entitled "The Bâw and Gâobârah Sepahbuds along the Southern Caspian Shores."⁴ In this paper, Rehatsek dwells upon "the

The Sepahbuds who ruled in Persia even after the Arab Conquest.

1 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, p. 35.

2 *Ibid.* p. 36. 3 *Ibid.* p. 36.

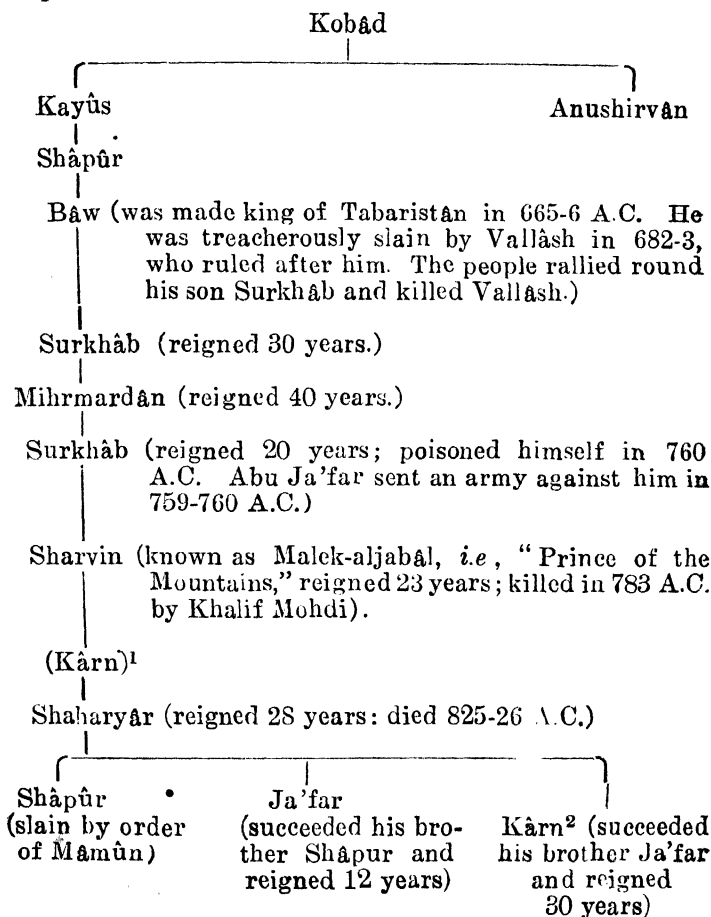
4 "Jour. B. B. R. A. Society," Vol. XII, pp. 410-45. For a brief summary of that paper with my observations, *vide* my paper: "A Glimpse into the work of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, etc.," *op. cit.*, pp. 79-82.

subject of the gradual transition of the Persians from Zoroastrianism to Muhammadanism as far as the Sepahbuds of the Bâw and Gâobârah dynasty.”¹ He gives a brief history of some of the Zoroastrian principalities. As to why these principalities continued to be Zoroastrian, long after the downfall of the Empire under Yazdajard, Rehatsek says: “The reason why several of these little sovereigns managed to subsist.....and why at least the Bâw and Gâobârah Sepahbuds succeeded in maintaining themselves in the Kôhestân or ‘mountain region’ must be sought (a) in the rugged and wild character of a land full of jungles, rocks and precipices, as well as of malarious plains; (b) in the independent nature of mountaineers; and (c) in the struggles of Abbâside Khalifs with various rebels, who sometimes so fully engaged their forces that the princes of Tabaristân and Mâzanderân had opportunities of temporarily throwing off the yoke of their conquerors.”² The first two of the reasons applied to the early Zoroastrian Sepahbuds but the last applied also to the Zoroastrian Sepahbuds who ruled after the downfall of the Umayyad Khalifs and the coming to power of the Abbâssid Khalifs. Of the different Zoroastrian dynasties that ruled there, Rehatsek gives us an account of the two principal ones, *viz.*, the Bâw and the Gâobarâh, on the authority of (1) the “Târikh of Tabaristân, Ruyân and Mâzanderân” of Sayyad Zahir-al-din, (2) the “Rauzat-us-Safa” of Mirkhond, and (3) the Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badaoni. It is with these two dynasties that we are principally concerned with respect to a principal event in our Qisseh, *viz.*, the Exodus from Kohistân to Hormuz.

1 “Jour. B. B. R. A. Society,” Vol. XII, Abstract of the Proceedings, p. XXII.

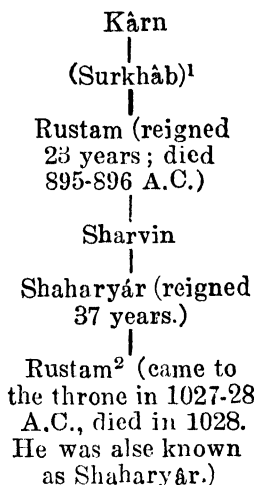
2 *Ibid.* pp. 410-11.

The following table, prepared by me from Rehatsek's account, gives a list of the Bâwand princes of Tabaristân, who ruled in Tabaristân long after the Arab conquest:—



1 He did not reign, having died in the life time of his father.

2 He "was the first of these princes who made a profession of Islâm." (Jour. B.B.R.A. Society, Vol. XII, p. 416).



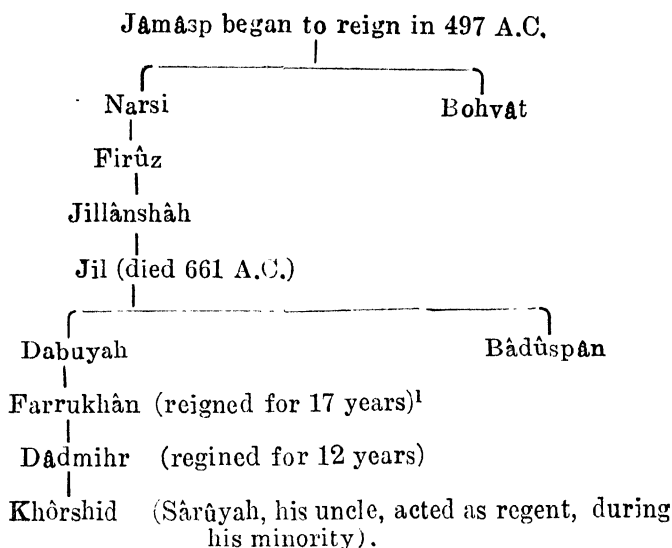
The following table gives a genealogical tree of the Gâobârah Sepahbuds,³ who first ruled in Gilân and then in Tabaristân:—

1 He did not reign.

2 Before he came to the throne, the country was ruled by one Dârâ bin Dârâ for 35 years. He fought against Allâhahdaulab, was taken prisoner and died in captivity. The dynasty died with him.

3 In this connection, it must be noted that in the mountainous district to the north of Persia, there also reigned, in other parts, descendants of old Iranian families. Though many of them had changed their faith, they continued to have old Iranian names. For example, we find that upto the sixth century of the Hijri era, there ruled, in the province of Shirwân, a dynasty of kings known as the Shirwânshâhs, who bore old Iranian names, just like some of the Sepahbuds named above, such as Fariburz, Minochehr, Faridun, Farrukhzâd, Garshâsp (Kershâsp), Gushtâsp, etc. (*ibid.* "Falaki-i Shirwâni: His Times, Life and Works," by Dr. Hadi Hasan (1929).) "The province of Shirwân, that is the two districts of Shirwân proper and Gushtâspi" had for its limits the river Samur or Nahru'l Malik on the north, the Caspian Sea on the east, the river Kur or Cyrus on the south, and the Christian kingdom of Georgia on the west. Derbend.....was a state by itself (*ibid.* p. 1). I had the pleasure of passing through a part of this country in October 1925, on my way from Moscow, via Vladicaucas, to Tabriz and Urumiah in Persian Âzarbâijân.

GĀOBĀRAH SEPAHBŪDS



Prof. Rehatsek has written another paper entitled: "The Subjugation of Persia by the Moslems, and the Extinction of the Sâsânian Dynasty,"² which lends us materials to support the correctness of the date of the Zoroastrian Exodus, at first, to Kohistân, and then to Hormuz. The last part of the paper, which is interesting and exhaustive, is important from the point of view of the Exodus which we are treating.³ He says: "The complete subjugation of the vast extent of the Persian monarchy took place only by degrees, and revolts

1 He built the town of Sâri near Nishâpûr and named it after his son Sârûyah ("J. B. B. R. A. S.", XII, p. 443).

2 "Jour. B. B. R. A. Society," Vol. XI, pp. 147-218.

3 *Vide* my paper "A Glimpse into the work of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society during the last hundred years, from a Parsee Point of View," pp. 70-72.

now and then still took place, but were suppressed without very great difficulty, as no extensive organizations or ramifications of them among the various districts were possible. These insurrections were frequent enough upto the death of the Khalif Sulaimân B. A'bd-al-Melek, which took place in A.H. 99 (717-18). The last great effort of the Persians to recover their ancient independence occurred also in the eighth century of our era, but the Rauzat-al-Safa, from which I take the account, does not give the date. Sinbâd, the Zoroastrian, an influential inhabitant of Nishâpûr, raised the standard of revolt by first proclaiming his intention to liberate the Persians from the Musalmân yoke in his native city, and inviting the population of the district of Rey, as well as the whole of Taberistân, to make common cause with him. Sinbâd first marched to Kazvin, with the intention of taking possession of it, but was disappointed. In Rey he was more successful; he not only took it, but slew its governor, and obtained an enormous booty of arms and other articles. When he had collected an army of 110,000 men, he declared that the end of Islam was at hand, that a scion of the Sâsânian dynasty would make his appearance under whose command, he would march to Mekkah, and would destroy the Kâbah. When Abu Ja'fer Mançur¹ heard of what was taking place, he

1 The Khalif Abu Ja'far, referred to above, was the Khalif of the new Abbâsîd dynasty that came to power after the downfall of the Umayyids. He is the Khalif referred to in the Pahlavi Shatroihi-i Airân as the founder or reconstructor of Baghdâd. I will refer to him a little later on, when I will speak of Inostransev supporting the correctness of the dates of the Exodus. I think, that some of the fugitives referred to by Rehatsek, as having run away after the defeat of Sinbâd at the hands of Khalif Mansur, were among those fugitives who took their way to Hormuz, when they saw that their Zoroastrian principalities in the mountainous tracts of Kohistân were defeated and destroyed.

marched with his army to Sâwa; Sinbâd, too, hastened to encounter him, carrying also many Musalman women, whom he had placed on camels. The battle, which took place, was decisive: Sinbâd was put to flight and afterwards killed in Tabaristân: his army was partly destroyed, but many of the fugitives perished of thirst in the desert. The total number of those who lost their lives is stated to have amounted to 70,000." ¹

We see from what Rehatsek has said that at the end of the stay of a hundred years at Kohistân, a Zoroastrian Sepahbud, Sinbâd by name, had raised a revolt against the Khalif and his defeat at the hands of Khalif Mansur led the fugitives at Kohistân to leave Kohistân for Hormuz. This Sinbâd is the Sumbâd of Inostransev's narrative.

Abû Muslim, surnamed 'Sâhib-ud-dowleh', i.e., "the helper of the new era" (of the Abbâssids), was a leader of the commotion caused by the change of the dynasties. At the same time that he appeared on the scene in Kohistân "there appeared in Khorassân Bih-Aferîd, whose teaching was closely connected with the faith of Zoroaster, and the dualistic sects. That movement was suppressed by Abû Muslim himself, but his death at the hand of the Abbâssids called forth a most violent movement in Eastern Iran. In Transoxiana, one Ishâq taught that Abû Muslim was a messenger of Zoroaster and that Zoroaster himself was still alive and to come. But especially important is the movement started at the same time in Khorassân by one Sumbâd, who was dreaming about re-establishing the ancient Persian religion and abolishing Islam. He was a fire-worshipper from the vicinity of Nishâpur and having conquered Nishâpur, Qum and Rei, he proclaimed himself 'Ispehbed

1 "Jour. B. B. R. A. Society," XI, pp. 217-18. •

Firūz..... Sumbād is said to have declared in the course of his conversations with Guebrēs that the Arab domination was finished according to what he had read in a Sasanian book.....The mutiny of Sumbād took place in A.H. 137 (A.D. 754-55).'¹

Certain Chinese Annals refer to the ancient Persians.

Reference to these Chiefs (Sepahbuds) and to certain immediate events after the Arab conquest in Chinese Annals.

They refer to Zoroaster as 'Sou-li-tehe,' and to Yazdajard as 'Yisséssê.' M. Chavannes has collected these references in an issue of the *Journal Asiatique*.² These Annals indirectly confirm the event of the migration of the

Parsees from Persia, on the downfall of the Persian Empire. M. Deguignes gives an account of these Annals in his *History of the Huns*.³ It appears that Yazdajard had, during his early defeats, asked the help of the Chinese Emperor T'ai Tsung, but this help was refused. When on Yazdajard's death, there was a general flight, Pirouz or Firuz (Chinese Pilousé) fled to Toukharistan which was then under Chinese rule. In 662, the Chinese Emperor acknowledged him as the King of Persia.⁴ In 674, Firuz, perhaps not finding his position in Toukharistan strong enough, went to China and was appointed a Captain of his own Bodyguard by the Chinese Emperor. This prince is said to have built a Fire-temple in China at a place called Ch'angngan.⁵ On the

1 Inostransev : "Journal of the Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, *op. cit.* pp. 62-64.

2 "Journal Asiatique," 1897, Vol. IX, pp. 43-85.

3 "Histoire Générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols et des autres Tartares occidentaux etc. avant et depuis Jesus Christ jusqu'à present," par M. Deguignes (1756).

4 *Ibid.* Vol. I, Part 1, p. 57.

5 Sir H. Yule's "Cathay and the Way Thither," 1915, Vol. I, p. 96.

death of Firuz in 677, his son Narsey (Ninissé or Nini ei essé in Chinese), with the help of a Chinese army under a Chinese officer, started for Persia to claim his ancestral throne, but returned, as the Chinese Commander did not like to proceed to fight. After his return in 707 A.C., he was given an office in the royal court. Some time after this, between 713 and 755 A.C., some of the Zoroastrian Chiefs or Sepahbuds, mentioned above, had, as independent rulers, sent about ten embassies to the Court of China. One of these chiefs was a prince of Tabaristân, who lived in Sâri. In the company of these embassies and of some royal princes and chiefs, many Parsees seem to have retired to China. It was in Khorâsân that there existed, at that time, the starting station for the route from Persia to China.¹

Anquetil du Perron, when in Surat, was corresponding with one Mr. P. Gaubil of Pekin in 1758. He learnt from him that the Prahmins spoken of by the Chinese as Polamen, were believed to have first gone to China 1600 years before his time. Anquetil believed that in the seventh century some Parsees had returned to China with the son of Yazdajard.² With that belief, he expected to have much information from Chinese-books on the subject of the Parsees.

It was on these grounds that James Campbell also, whilst writing the history of the Parsees in Gujarat, says that "about the time when they came to India, Parsees were settled in China as missionaries, traders and *refugees*."³

1 "Maçoudi," Chap. XVI, Barbier de Meynard's Text and Translation, Vol. I, p. 347.

2 Les "Parses.....se retirèrent à la Chine dans le septième siècle avec le fils d'Iezdedjerd." 'Le Zend Avesta,' Vol. I, Part I, p. 335 n.

3 "The Bombay Gazetteer," Vol. IX, Part II, Gujarat Population, p. 185 n.

The Pahlavi 'Nāmakihâ-i Manuschihr' ("Epistles of Manuschihr") seems to refer to this fact of some Parsees having retired even to distant China. Manuschihr (Minochehr), the prelate of the Zoroastrians of Pars and Kerman, speaks of retiring to distant China, in order to avoid domestic anxieties at home, caused by some supposed heretical teachings, as to the purificatory ceremony of 'Bareshnum,'¹ of his brother Zâdsparam, who was, at first, the head priest of Sarakhs in Khorâsân and was latterly transferred to Sistân. These Epistles, written in the ninth century A.C., then refer to two facts:

1. that Khorâsân had a large Zoroastrian population in the mountainous tract of Kohistân,
2. and that there was a Parsee population in China, in the ninth century.

We have seen above that the fugitive Parsces had at first gone to Kohistân. It seems that they had gone there, because there were mountain fortresses and hilly regions which could long give them shelter. Mr. Inostransev dwells on the geographical materials in the Qisseh-i Sanjan. As to Kohistân, he says that it is "the southern part of Khorâsân adjacent to the north-eastern districts of Kerman."² The Qisseh-i Sanjan also seems to say that it is the Kohistân of Khorâsân. As Mr. Inostransev says, he has not "followed the author of the Qisseh-i Sanjan in his further exposition." But, had he followed him, he would have seen that his supposition is quite correct and that the Kohistân referred to is the Kohistân of Khorâsân, because we find that, later on, when

1 For this ceremony, *vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 102-66.

2 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Institute," No. 1, p. 37.

the emigrants speak of founding a Fire Temple (Ātash Behrân), latterly known as "the Irân Shâh,"¹ it is clearly said that they had "the religious requisites" ('âlât') brought from Khorâsân for the purpose. Khorâsân is mentioned thrice in the Qissch-i Sanjan.²

Mr. Inostransev then explains, at some length, why the refugees must have first taken shelter in the Kohistân of Khorâsân. He says: "The most prominent feature of that country was and is its inaccessibility and loneliness, but there were in that country many mountain-castles, which offered a good shelter; in the nearest northern part of Kerman was also the crossing of the roads leading to the Persian Gulf, *i.e.*, to Hurmuz and to India" (V. V. Bartold "A historico-geographical sketch of Iran," 1903, pp. 93-94 and 97).³

Inostransev thus speaks of the facilities to go to Hormuz: "Historico-ethnographical data have also to be taken into consideration. In the nearest neighbourhood, in the south-western direction from the Kûhistân of Khorassan in the Kerman district on the way to Hurmuz were situated the hills of Bâriz inhabited by the martial highlanders of the same name who remained *fire-worshippers* through the whole reign of the Umayyads and embraced Islam only in the time of the Abbassids, but were definitely brought to subjection only by the Saffarids. Farther towards the sea lived the highland tribe of Kufs or Kûch who belonged in the Xth century to the Shi'ah sect

1 Shâh Irân is Irân Shâh (c. 221 of Qissch-i Sanjan). Eastwick has made a very bad mistake. He has not correctly understood Shâh Irân or Irân Shâh as a proper name; taking the word ۳ for ۴, *i.e.*, "three," he has stated that they placed "three sacred fires," etc. (*vide* l. 309 of his translation).

2 Mr. Paymaster's Edition, cc. 216-17.

3 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, p. 37.

and who were, generally speaking, also hostile to Islam.....
the r belonging to the Shī'ah sect might even have had
 some connection with the fact of their neighbours being fire-
 worshippers. To the west from that tribe was situated the
 country of the nomadic tribe of the Balūs or Balūch who
 also adhered to the Shī'ah creed and the district of Hurmuz.
 Thus, on the whole distance between the Kūhistān of
 Khorāsān *via* Kerman upto the Persian Gulf, we are en-
 counterling at the period, which interests us, ethnical elements
 either professing fire-worship or related to the same in
 their creed and politically hostile to the Caliphate.....the
 Kūhistān of Khorāsān constituted a part of the province
 Pahlav, *i.e.* Parthia, one of the most ancient centres of the
 Iranian state tradition."¹

Again as Inostransev says: Hormuz was, in the middle
 ages, *i.e.*, the tenth century, "the port of Kerman and a
 bazarplace, an entrepot-city for the goods which arrived
 there."²....."The commerce on the Persian Gulf in the
 middle ages is closely connected with the Parsi-Indian
 relations."² The merchants, even in the tenth century
 occasionally used Persian words instead of Arabic for
 technical trade purposes, *e.g.*, 'Khorāsān' instead of
mashreq for "the east." Rāmusht or Rāmasht, a well-
 known wealthy merchant of the twelfth century seems to
 have been a Parsee.

Thus, we see that in addition to the "fear of the
 Musulmans," the emigrant Parsees had at Hormuz the
 probability of "some other expectations."³ They may
 have expected the chance of trading with India from
 thence.

1 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, p. 37.

2 *Ibid* p. 38.

3 *Ibid* p. 40.

Having explained the circumstances, which led the Parsees to leave Kohistân for Hormuz we will examine here the question which Inostransev has treated: what led the Parsees to leave Hormuz for India. The foundation of Baghdâd seems to have been one of the reasons for leaving Hormuz for India.

According to both the Qissehs, the date when the Parsees finally left Hormuz, *i.e.*, the land of Persia, seems to have been 766 A.C. It was the date when the second and the most prominent Abbassid caliph Mansûr¹ reconstructed the city of Baghdâd, which "was predestined to become the new capital of the caliphate."¹ Mansûr changed the old Iranian name of the city, Baghdâd which, in spite of all his attempts, has still clung to it, into Dâr-ûl Salâm, *i.e.*, "the City of Peace." He also changed the Iranian names of some other towns of Mesopotamia. Baghdâd began to receive, "preponderant significance"² over Hormuz, a great commercial city trading with India. "That event, together with all that had happened earlier had its repercussion on the Parsi community in Hormuz, the latter being a commercial port at the outlet from the Persian Gulf to the Indian Ocean."²

(a) The Pahlavi 'Shatrôihâ-i Afrân'³ names Baghdâd, among many others, as a great city of Irân, and attributes its foundation or rather reconstruction to Khaliph Mansûr, who is spoken of as Abû-Dja'far Abû d-davânîk (ابودوانيق), which is a nickname of Mansûr. He was so called because

1 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, p. 65.

2 *Ibid.* p. 66.

3 *Vide* my "Afyâdgâr-i Zarîrân, Shatrôihâ-i Afrân va Afidiy va Sahîgiya-i Sistân," p. 121.

he was very avaricious.¹ The fact of the nickname, having been given by the Pahlavi writers, shows that Khalif Mansûr was opposed to the Zoroastrian Persians.

Inostransev says: "The word 'dānik,' ($\frac{1}{8}$ th of the dirhem) itself is the Persian 'dāneh,' a grain. It is possible that the surname, referred to, took its origin in the Parsi milieu hostile to Mansûr."²

(b) The change of the old Iranian names of towns, as said above, also shows his anti-Iranian ways.

Inostransev further says: "The high degree of development of the commerce in Baghdād, and the general commercial progress of the caliphate connected with the name of Mansûr is a fact of historical notoriety. The oppressions on the side of Musulmans, mentioned in the Qissch-i-Sanjan, as the reason for emigration, may be explained as having been of the nature of a restraint laid on the conditions of commercial activity. The religious and national motives were supported by a practical motive."³

It seems that the hope entertained by this Hormuz group of fugitives of better days in Iran, at least, in the eastern part of the country, in the direction of Khorâsân was lost, owing to the doings of Mansûr in Khorâsân "...just before the year 766, and, as its ultimate result, possibly even in the self-same year, the armies of Caliph Mansûr annexed to the Musulman realm the dominions of the Ispahbeds,⁴ the last representative of the uninterrupted

1 Abu, "father," and *davāniq* or *dawiniq* دوانیق, pl. of *dāniq*, "coin." *Vide* Steingass.

2 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, p. 67.

3 *Ibid.* p. 66.

4 For the rule of these Sepahbuds, *vide* Prof. Rehatsek's paper: "The Baw and Gaoharah Sepahbuds along the Southern Caspian Shores." "Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society", Vol. XII, p. 410. *Vide* my "Glimpse into the work of the B. B. R. A. Society during the last 100 years from a Parsee point of view," pp. 79-82.

existence of the Sasanian state-tradition and of the Zoroastrian faith."¹

The reason why the fugitives directed their flight to India and not to any other country can be gathered from the account given above:

The Exodus:
Why to India? India was well known to them. Persia had come into contact with India and there was a good deal of trade between the two countries. This trade not only gave facilities of travel, but also an expectation of good business. It seems that the fugitives were not the poorest of the poor; they were men of some position and means, even though poor, who could count on doing some trade for the sake of bread in the country of their adoption. We learn from Tabari that the Arabs were aware of the closer contact of India with ancient Persia and were, therefore, afraid of the defeated Persians receiving help from India; and in order to be prepared for defence against a likely invasion by sea from India *via* the Persian Gulf, they had built the city of Basra. We read from Tabari (I give an English version of the French translation of Zotenberg): "Now, after the battle of Kâdesia and the destruction of the Persian army, Omar, fearing that the king of Persia might demand the help of the king of Oman and the king of Hindustan, and that these kings might give that help, thought it proper to get the country at the mouth of the Tigris occupied by a body of troops and to get a village constructed there to be occupied by the Arabs, in order to prevent the Persians from bringing the auxiliary armies by that route."² The town thus founded was Basrâ.

1 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, p. 67.

2 "Tabari," par Zotenberg, Vol. III, p. 401. •

After justifying the statement of the Qisseh, so far as the geography of Khorâsân and Hormuz is concerned, and after examining, step by step, why the Zoroastrians first migrated to Khorâsân, then to Hormuz, and then to India, let us proceed to prove the correctness of the historical facts mentioned in the Qisseh. Here also the learned paper of Inostransev helps us. He tries to prove that the statement as to the stay of a hundred years at Khorâsân is correct. He says: "The adherence of the highlanders of Northern Kerman to fire-worship noticed by the Arab geographers is of the same duration as given by the Qisseh-i-Sanjân for the stay of the Parsis in Kûhistân; moreover the flitting of the latter to Hurmuz coincides in time with the most tremendous commotion of the whole Musulman world in the middle of the VIIIth century—with the fall of the Umayyad dynasty and the passing of their power into the hands of the Abbâsids. Although the last Umayyad Caliph Marwân was killed in Egypt in 750 A.D., still all the members of the dynasty and its other partisans were not exterminated until the autumn of 751 A.D. The following circumstance is most important: *from the end of the national Persian dynasty of the Sasanians to the ascending to the throne and the definite establishment of the power of the Abbâsid Caliphs one hundred years by the solar calendar had passed.*"

"In concluding the above reflections" as to the events which took place upto the embarkation of the Zoroastrians at Hormuz, Mr. Inostransev "deals with the Qisseh-i Sanjan as a historical source" and says that the Qisseh "is almost exclusively based on verbal tradition. Still,.....its narrative finds indirect

confirmation in other sources; besides, some value has also to be attributed to the character of that verbal tradition and of the sphere in which that tradition has been conserved. We know that the Indian Parsis are of the type of a definitely pronounced religious and commercial community, consisting of a relatively small number of members, but with clearly defined and carefully preserved ethnical and cultural peculiarities,— a circumstance favourable to inviolable preservation of historical tradition. When the Qisseh-i Sanjan is narrating that after the death of Yezdegerd, those true to the faith of Zoroaster left their dwellings,— we have to understand that those were the Persians devoted to the Parsi religion and to the Sasanian dynasty, who fled to the remotest and most inaccessible localities of Iran in order to preserve their religious and cultural independence during the devastation of their country.....In the neighbourhood of the highlanders, who had remained true to the old religion, the Parsis remained in the Kûhistân upto the moment of the new commotion produced by the fall of the Umayyad dynasty.”¹ That new commotion, caused by the Abbâssids coming to power, was the cause of the Parsees leaving Kohistan.

But why did they prefer Hormuz to any other place? Inostransev answers the question: in addition to the “fear of the Mussalmans” there was a probability of “some other expectations.” Inostransev thus concludes: “Before the middle of the VIIIth century the Persians had cultural connections in general, and commercial in particular, with the Indian littoral countries, yet the Qisseh-i Sanjan draws for us a picture of a commercial colony who have for the first time left definitely their mother country and established themselves in a new country, where they light the sacred fire

1 “Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute,” No. 1, pp. 39-40.

and erect a temple for the same — the symbol of their religious and national individuality. Those are the historico-cultural and geographical considerations which induce us to discern, in the traditions relative to the emigration of the Parsis transmitted by the author of the *Qisseh-i Sanjan*, a grain of historical truth.”¹

Thus, we gather the following facts: (1) the immediate cause, which led the band of the Parsees who after the downfall of the Empire had removed from the plains to the mountainous country (‘Kohistân’) of Khorâsân to leave Khorâsân for the city of Hormuz, was “the new commotion” in the country caused by the fall of the Umayyads and the coming to power of the Abbâssids; (2) the reason why they preferred the city of Hormuz to any other place was that it was an emporium of trade from where they could trade with India and earn their bread; (3) the country between the Kohistân of Khorâsân which they left and Hormuz was one where there still lived many Zoroastrians; (4) besides these Zoroastrians, there were other non-Zoroastrians, who had full sympathy with them. These people were such as could not only give them a free passage but also a helpful passage, giving them all facilities for travel.

I have above referred to occasional previous migrations of the ancient Persians to India after the downfall of the last Persian empire before the Exodus. On this subject, Mr. Inostransev says that “a considerable number of Persian emigrants had certainly been in India. In the pre-Muslim epoch Persian Magi had founded in India a temple of the Sun.”²

1 “Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute,” No. 1, p. 4)

2 *Ibid.* pp. 40-41.

Moreover, in the later Sasanian times of king Noushīrwān and his successors, Yemen in south-eastern Arabia had passed into the hands of the Persians. There must, therefore, have been many Zoroastrians there, where, even for some time after the fall of Yazdajard, they had continued to follow their faith. As Yemen had an extensive trade with India, some Zoroastrians must have come from Yemen to India for trade.¹

Besides, some stray emigrants might have come at the very moment of the downfall of the Empire, *i.e.*, before the band, which came after a stay of a hundred years in Kohistan. Mr. Inostransev quotes Balāzuri to show what occurred at the time of the middle of the seventh century: "Many of the inhabitants of Kerman took to flight; some sailed in ships towards the sea, others directed themselves to Mekran, others again to Segestan."² Those who sailed in ships could have gone only to India." Among those who "sailed in ships towards the sea," many may be those who came to the Western shores of India, though not in large numbers like the Sanjan band. "Still the above information cannot be considered as pointing to a wholesale emigration."³ Mr. Inostransev thinks that the Sanjan Colony must have been reinforced by later immigrants. There is a likelihood of this being the case in "the Seljuqid period in the XIth and XIIth centuries" when a suburb of the city of Djiruft in Kerman was an emporium of trade, and, as such, traded with various countries, amongst which Gujarat was one.³

¹ For this occupation of Yemen, *vide* my paper entitled "The Physical Character of the Arabs. Their relations with the Ancient Persians," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XI, No. 7, pp. 724-768 (1919). *Vide* my "Anthropological Papers," Part III, pp. 8-51.

² "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, *op. cit.* p. 41.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 41-42.

The Qisseh-i Sanjan is the only written document which describes the Exodus of the Zoroastrians. If any one were to doubt its statement, he can and must do so on the strength of other written documents of the same or of earlier dates and of similar or of better authority. We have no other contemporary or anterior writing of equal or better authority. Therefore, in the matter of the dates of the Exodus also, we must be guided by the statement of the Qisseh-i Sanjan. So guided, we get certain dates for events commencing from the date of the downfall of the Persian monarchy.

The Date of the arrival of the Emigrants at Sanjan.

As to the date of the downfall of the Empire, I take it to be that of the death of king Yazdajard. I have discussed the dates of various events connected with the Exodus, at full length, in my paper: "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates," commencing with and counting the years from the year of the death of Yazdajard, *viz.*, 651 A.C. I am glad to observe that Mr. Inostransev, who has written an excellent paper¹ on the subject of the Emigration, agrees with me on the authority of old Arab writers. The subject of his paper is suggested to him by my paper just mentioned above, referring to which he says: "The above narrative gives two kinds of materials, chronological and geographical. J. J. Modi pays attention only to materials of the first kind and, using the same, establishes the time of the emigration..... we have to point out that the point of departure adopted by J. J. Modi in his calculations is quite correct. As the moment, when the

1 "The Emigration of the Parsis to India and the Musalman World in the middle of the VIII Century," translated from the Russian of K. Inostranzenov, by Mr. L. Bogdanov ("Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, pp. 32-70).

power of Yezdegerd was ended, can undoubtedly be considered only the moment of his death, seeing that, in spite of a series of defeats inflicted on his armies by the Arabs, the power of the last Sasanian, if only a nominal one, was never considered as overthrown before his decease. That has also been acknowledged by the Arab writers, who inform us, that only with his death the existence of the Persian realm came to its end and that the Persians begin the new chronology from that particular moment; thus, for instance, Dīnāverī, relating about the death of Yezdegerd, says: 'This happened in the 6th year of the caliphate of Osman, *i.e.*, in the 30th year of the Hijra; it was then, that the independent existence of the Persian realm came to its end and upto the present do the Persians base their chronology on the date of this event.' (Kitāb-al-Akhbār-at-tiwāl, ed. W. Guirgass 149). According to Tabari's information, Yezdegerd was buried in Istakhar at the beginning of 31 A.H.; that event has to be put in A.D. 651, and any chronological calculations have to start from that date."¹

Thus, calculating the date of the death of Yazdajard from 651 A.C., I have arrived at the following dates, for events connected with the main event of the Emigration:—

The fall of the Persian Empire on the death
of Yazdajard and the flight to Kohistān ... 651 A.C.

Arrival at Hormuz, after a stay of a hundred
years in Kohistān 751 ..

Arrival at Div, after a stay of fifteen years
at Hormuz 766 ..

Arrival at Sanjan and settling there, after a
stay of nineteen years at Div 785 ..

Founding the Fire-temple at Sanjan, after
a stay of five years 790 ..

1 "Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute," No. 1, pp. 35-36.

Thus, the date of the Emigration to India and landing at Div must be 766 A.C. and of the arrival at Sanjan and settling there must be 785 A.C.

(a) The Qisseh-i Sanjan, on the authority of which I have based my calculations, was written in 1600 A.C. (b) Its author has given the account on the authority of an older writing. He says: "I have given this story as I saw it in the old writing." ('Man in qisseh be-goftam ân cheh didam').¹ (c) He further says that the old manuscript on which he depended as authority was shown to him by a Dastur. "He, the Dastur, showed me this 'qisseh'" ('ma-râ in qisseh be-namudash Dastur').² (d) The author has made similar statements as to his authorities.³ (e) Bahman Kaikobâd, author of the Qisseh-i Sanjan whom the author of our Qisseh follows, belonged to a learned family, and was the descendant of Nâgan Râm, one of the three priests of Sanjan who had carried 'Irân-Shâh', the Sacred Fire of Sanjan,—the very first Fire established on landing in India,—from Bansda to Naosari as narrated in our Qisseh. I have given, elsewhere,⁴ the genealogy of his family. As the Qisseh-i Sanjan, followed by our author, is the earliest authority on the history of the Emigration, we must take it to be the best authority for the correctness of statements and for the dates.

Next to the Qisseh-i Sanjan, the book which gives the date of the emigration is Dastur Aspandiarji Kamdin's કદિમ તારીખ પારસીઓની કસર ('Kadim Târikh Pârsî-ñi Kasar').

1 "The Kisseh-i Sanjan," by Mr. R. B. Paymaster, l. 431, p. 16.

2 *Ibid.* l. 412.

3 *Vide* my paper: "Dastur Bahman Kaikobad and the Kisseh-i Sanjan," (1917), pp. 6-7.

4 *Ibid.* p. 7.

This book was written, not as a historical work, but as a controversial tract dealing with the question of intercalation. It was published in 1826 A.C., *i.e.*, 226 years after the Qisseh-i Sanjan. It gives the date of the landing at Sanjan as Samvat 772 (“ તે દીવસને રાત્રે ૭૭૨ શાતશને બાહોતેર શરાવણ શુદ્ધ ૬ વાર શુક્રે રોજ ૨ બહમન અને માહા ૪ દીર હતો.”) According to this date the year of landing would be 716 A.C. But this date cannot be accepted. Dastur Aspandiyârji is a much later author and he does not seem to have seen the date of the Qisseh-i Sanjan. One important point to show that his date is not correct is the fact that the Hindu day and month do not tally with the Parsi day and month as given by him.¹

The dates of some other events are given here and there in Gujarati on the margin of the MS. of our Qisseh, as they are given by me in my version, but all of them have to be laid aside as unauthentic. They are not given on the authority of any well-known person and are written as stray notes on stray pages. But the dates of the landing in India, at Div in 766 A.C. and at Sanjan in 785 A.C., arrived at on the authority of the Qisseh-i Sanjan, are correct.

Besides, we see, on the authority of the history of Tabaristan, as narrated by Rehatsek and Inostransev, and on that of other historical materials about the Sepahbuds of Khorâsân, that the dates given above by me are supported by the dates of other contemporary events of history. They, therefore, stand for the present as rock-strong dates.

¹ *Widely* “The Parsee Prakash,” Vol. I, p. 1.

IX

TRANSFER OF BULSAR FROM THE
ECCLESIASTICAL JURISDICTION OF NAOSARI
TO THAT OF SANJAN.

The value of Dastur Shâpurji Sanjânâ's Qisseh lies in its second part. The first part has much in common with the Qisseh-i Sanjan. It is possible that Dastur Shâpurji has been guided by the Qisseh-i Sanjan for the first portion of his narration.

There is one event connected with the early history given in the Qisseh which, as described by our author, is new. It is the transfer of Bulsar from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Naosari to which it, at first, belonged according to the first distribution of *panthaks*, to that of the Sanjânâ priests. Our author says that, latterly, when the country of Sanjan was pledged into the hands of the King of Portugal,¹ the Parsees were frightened ('be-tarsidand') and asked the Naosari people to transfer to them Bulsar, which had not passed into the hands of the Portuguese. The Naosari priests consented and handed over the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Bulsar to the Sanjânâ priests.²

The cause of the fight was the well-known intolerance of the Portuguese in the matter of religion. It seems that many Parsees with their priest had left Sanjan for Bulsar and other places, to avoid the intolerance and interference of the Portuguese in their religious affairs.

1 We still see at Sanjan the ruins of an old Portuguese fort.

2 That, ere this, Bulsar was held by the Naosari priests, appears from a document dated the 20th April, 1414, whereby twenty-six laymen of Bulsar, appearing before Subha Amil Sidee of Bulsar, agreed to keep Shâpurji Rânâ of Naosari as their priest. ("The Parsee Prakash," Part I, p. 4.)

The event of the pledge must be that which occurred in 1560. In the reign of Sultan Ahmad II, the Portuguese assisted Changiz Khan to attack Surat which was captured and its governor Khudawand Khan was killed. "As the price of their assistance he surrendered the districts of Daman and Sajan (Sanjan)"¹ to the Portuguese. We learn from other different sources that the Portuguese were intolerant. Khafi Khan, a historian of Aurangzeb's time, says that the Portuguese "in all matters acted very kindly towards the people and did not vex them with oppressive taxes.....But the call to prayers and public devotion were not permitted in their settlements. If a poor traveller has to pass through their possessions, he would meet with no other trouble; but he would not be able to say his prayers at his ease.....But their greatest act of tyranny is this. If a subject of these misbelievers dies leaving young children and no grown up son, the children are considered wards of the State. They take them to their places of worship, their churches which they have built in many places and the *padris*, that is to say, priests, instruct the children in the Christian religion and bring them up in their own faith, whether the child be a Musulman *Saiyid* or a Hindu Brahman."²

The Qisseh-i Sanjan does not give us the date of the transfer of the Sacred Fire of Sanjan to Naosari at the instance of Changa Shah. Our author, Dastur Shâpurji Sanjânâ, seems to follow Bahman Kaikobâd's Qisseh in the main facts of the emigration from Persia. Here, he gives, from his own knowledge, the date of the transfer of the Sacred Fire as 785 Yazdajardi (c. 315), i.e., 1416 A.C.

1 Watson's "History of Gujarat" (1876), p. 56.

2 Khafi Khan's "Muntakhab-ul Lubab," translated in Elliot's "History of India," Vol. VII, pp. 344-5.

This date is, on the face of it, incorrect. The transfer took place after the sack of Sanjan by Sultan Mahmud (Bigadah) in about 1490. After the sack, the Sacred Fire was taken to Bahrut for twelve years, from thence to Bansda where it rested for fourteen years, and then to Naosari. So the date comes to about $(1490+12+14=)$ 1516 A.C., and the date as given by the author of our Qisseh is evidently wrong by a hundred years. The word 'haft-sad' (هفت صد) seems to have been miswritten for 'hasht-sad' (هشت صد). The letter ف ('f') must have been miswritten for ش ('sh'). Mistakes of this kind do occur at times. It is quite possible that our author had the number of years before him in figures as ٨٨°, and he must have misread the first figure ٨ ("eight") for ٧ ("seven"). These two figures, at times, cause a misreading. I have discussed this question at full length in my paper: "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates" (1905), pp. 44-63. I have shown there that the year of the removal of the Sacred Fire to Naosari was 885 A.Y., i.e., 1516 A.C.

A Solution of the Question: Who founded the Atash Behram of Naosari?

There is a difference of opinion among the Zoroastrians of Naosari, especially between the Bhagaria priests on the one hand and the Desais on the other, as regards the founder of the Atash Behram of Naosari.

The Bhagaria priests give the lion's share of credit to Desai Khurshedji in the work of foundation of the Atash Behram. But, according to them, the expenses were not borne by Desai Khurshedji alone; others, besides him, had shared the expenses and, therefore, they say that it must be known as the "Anjuman's Atash Behram." The members of the Desai family, on the other hand, say that the founding of the Atash Behram was only one man's work, that it was Desai Khurshedji alone who paid all the expenses, and that, therefore, the Atash Behram must be known as "Desai Khurshedji's Atash Behram."

Both the sides appeal to this "Qisseh-i Âtash Varhâ-râm-i Naosari" and refer to stray passages which support their views. Although I have taken no active part in the discussion, I confess that I was inclined, from my former studies, to side with those who accepted the view of the Bhagaria priests against that of the Desai family. I had studied this Qisseh formerly, at the request of Miss Menant, to reply to some of her queries, and embodied the result of my study in a paper entitled the "Kisseh-i 'Atash Behram-i Naosari" published in the issue of the "Zartoshti" of the month Meher, 1278 Yazdajardi (1909 A.C.). However, on looking to the paper now, I find that I have not referred at all to the question of the building of a house or edifice to locate the Sacred Fire. A patient study of the question has led me to modify my view partially, and I can now say that the Bhagaria priests are not wholly right. They are partly right and partly wrong. In the same way, the members of the Desai family also are not wholly right. They, too, are partly right and partly wrong.

I think that this Qisseh, when studied not partly but wholly, throws good light on the question and helps us to solve it. I will explain here how it is so. (a) I will, at first, give a few facts, as presented by the Qisseh, to show that the founding of the Atash Behram was the work of the whole Anjuman, and not that of Desai Khurshedji alone, and that therefore the Bhagaria priests are right. (b) I will then speak on an important fact presented by the Qisseh to show that the Desais, who, too, are Bhagarias, are also right, that it was Desai Khurshedji alone who provided a dome or, perhaps, a building with a dome, to locate the Sacred Fire prepared and consecrated at general expense. On the whole, Desai Khurshedji had a lion's share in the sum total of the expenses as well as in the credit.

(1) Firstly, the Qisseh says that the movement first began with the Anjuman. On a 'Rapithwin Jashan' day, when all the Mobads,

(a) A Few Statements of the Qisseh, showing that the founding of the Atash Behram was the whole Anjuman's affair.

Hirbads and Behedins had assembled for the 'Jashan' in the 'Dar-i Meher,' they proposed to found an Atash Behram.

They speak of themselves in the first person plural as intending to do the work. Let us mark the words:

*'Ke bâyard kard mâ-râ in-chun-in kâr,
Ke dar daur-at kunîm Âtash Varahrâm.'*

(cc. 516-517.)

"We ought so to exert that we can found the Atash Behram in your time."

"Then the good-hearted leader Khurshid spoke his secret hope to all: 'I, too, (*man nîz*) wish the same thing day and night.' " (cc. 521-522.)

"All the Dasturs and Mobads heard this; they blessed the leader; reciting the 'tan-darosti' with heart and soul, *they resolved*: 'let us (*mâyân*) prepare the Atash Behrâm.'" (cc. 524-525.)

(2) The Qisseh farther states:

"Then that man of good name and of good deeds, having invited all the religious men, spoke to all the Dasturs and Mobads: 'Let *us all* write several letters, [the news] of this *our* work may be spread (*ke bê-nvîsîm hamah mâyân nâmah-i chand; parâgandah shawad in kâr-i mâyân*) wherever there are the faithful Zoroastrians of good judgment, the circumstances may be known to them that we are preparing the fire in this way.' They wrote letters and sent them everywhere." (cc. 552-556.)

The letters were written to the different centres, such as Surat, Broach, Anklesar, Godavreh and Bombay,

wherever the Parsees dwelt. This is what happens even now. When the Parsee Anjuman of a mofussil town proposes to establish a Fire-temple or erect a Tower of Silence, the Anjuman of the place appeals to all the Parsee centres for help. Here was a similar case. It was the Naosari Anjuman, and not Desai Khurshed alone, who wrote to all the centres. Had it been Desai Khurshedji's own affair, there would have been no necessity of appealing to other centres for help.

Perhaps, it may be said that this was not an appeal for co-operation for contributing to the fund raised to meet the expenses, but they were only letters for information or announcement, letters of announcement of the kind which even now individual donors or founders of religious institutions send to the public newspapers to invite the Zoroastrians at the ceremonies of inauguration. But in this case the letters were not for the announcement of the inauguration ceremony on a certain date, nor were they a general invitation to attend the function of inauguration, but they were letters sent in the very beginning of the project, and were meant to ask for co-operation and help.

(3) An appeal was made to the leading Parsees of Surat, three of whom were the descendants of the well-known Rustam Mānock, whose ancestors belonged to Naosari and who was a Bhagaria himself. The fourth person of Surat to whom the appeal was made was not a member of the Seth family, but he was closely associated in business with the family. We find that, no leading persons were individually addressed, in letters to other Parsee centres, but it was so, only in the case of Surat, as the leaders of Surat belonged to Naosari and were Bhagarias by descent. Appeals to them individually were, therefore, expected to be successful, and, they so proved in fact.

In their reply, the members of the Surat Seth family do not speak of the Atash Behram as being founded by Desai Khurshed, but they speak generally in the third person plural as its being founded by the people there ('*ke mî-sâzand* ba Naosârî Varahrâm,' c. 577). Again, in their reply, they offer to send their share of the necessary expenses ('*har ân kharchî ke bâyard mâ farîstand*,' c. 579). As stated above, this was simply a preliminary announcement of the proposal to found an Atash Behram to which they sent a reply and offered to subscribe.

The fact of this offer to subscribe is substantiated by what we find in an original account book of Desai Khurshedji, an extract from which, as copied by me in May 1903, is given above.¹ We find, from that account, that all the four gentlemen, related to or associated with the Seth family of Surat, had sent in their subscriptions in Samvat 1822 (1765-66 A.C.), amounting to Rs. 1039-10.

(4) The replies from Parsee centres other than Surat also show that none of them took it that the founding of the Atash Behram at Naosari was an individual affair of Desai Khurshedji. Neither do they nor do the Surat Parsees refer, even once, to Desai Khurshedji by name. The letters were addressed to the different centres in the third person plural as having been written by the people (*Anjuman*) of Naosari ('*navishtand*,' c. 585). The replies, too, were addressed to the *Anjuman*, to the young and the old ('*bornâ va pîr*') and not to Desai Khurshedji alone. So, they were read before the whole *Anjuman* in the *Dar-i Meher* (c. 589). It was when favourable replies of co-operation and sympathy were received that Desai Khurshed requested Dastur Sohrab, the then Dastur of Naosari, to proceed with the work. This shows that the first letters were not letters announcing the inaugura-

1 See pp. 82-88 above.

tion ceremony; they were letters containing information, asking for sympathy and help. It was after receiving favourable replies from outside Naosari that the Anjuman (the old and the young) of Naosari met one day, and Dastur Sohrab read an account at the meeting, based on the authority of religious books, especially the eighth Pargard of the Vendidad explaining how an Atash Behram should be consecrated. So, if the foundation of the Sacred Fire at Naosari had been only one man Desai Khurshedji's affair, all the preliminaries stated above of letters and replies of co-operation would not have been necessary.

(5) After the completion of the ceremony of collecting and consecrating the sixteen fires, when the whole function was finished, Dastur Sohrab gave the wages or fees to the hundred Mobads who had taken part in the ceremony ('hamah rà mozd dād ô kard khushnud,' c. 691). Desai Khurshed, then, gave them wages for the second time ('dôgânah mozd dâdah,' c. 693). It seems that Dastur Sohrab, as the Head Priest of Naosari, paid to all the priests their wages or fees from the common fund. Thus, the fact that Desai Khurshed paid them for the second time, shows that the foundation of the Atash Behram was not Desai Khurshed's sole affair. Had it been so, there was no need of two payments, one by the Dastur and the other by the Desai. But, as it was the people's affair, an affair of the whole Anjuman, the Dastur paid the priests from the common exchequer, and then Desai Khurshed, of his own accord, kindly paid them in addition, out of his own pocket. Such cases have happened even recently. In the 'Jashans' celebrating the anniversaries of the Atash Behrams and other religious places the priests, after being paid by the authorities of the Atash Behrams, were paid, in addition, by other benevolent persons or from some benevolent funds.

(b) A Statement of the Qisseh that it was Desai Khurshedji who built the Dome (gumbad) of the Atash Behram.

Now, we come to the second part of the question, whereby one can properly say that it was Desai Khurshedji, who built the Atash Behram, i.e., the building which lodged the Sacred Fire.

It seems that, later on, after the sixteen fires were collected and consecrated (cc. 709-11), or perhaps in the midst of the ceremonies, Desai Khurshedji proposed building a dome ('gumbad') to accommodate the Sacred Fire of the Atash Behram. He expressed his intention to do so to Dastur Sohrab, who was pleased to learn that.

I think that what happened was something like that which happens even now-a-days. An institution is started from the general purse, from public subscriptions; but the house, in which that institution is located, is donated by a single individual out of his own money. For example, we had, in Bombay, the Elphinstone College started by public subscriptions. Then, later on, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, the first Knight of that name, built a special building for the Institution. So we speak of (a) the College as "the Elphinstone College" and (b) of the building as "the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Building of the Elphinstone College." Take another instance of what has happened in Naosari itself. The Parsee public had subscribed to certain funds to start a Madressa at Naosari. Later on, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, the first Knight, gave a large sum to the Madressa which began to be known, and is even now known, as "the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Madressa." Still later, Mr. Behramji Nusserwanji Sirvai of Naosari erected a large building to accommodate the Madressa. Here also, we have two names: (a) "the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Madressa" and (b) "the Behramji Nusserwanji Sirvai Building of the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Madressa." It seems that something of the same

kind had happened in the case of the Naosari Atash Behram. The preparation and consecration of the Sacred Fire was the work of the Anjuman, but the dome—or, perhaps, what is meant is a building with a dome in it, which seems to be more possible—was the affair of Desai Khurshedji alone.

From what we know of the foundation of the present Atash Behrams, the providing of a building for the Sacred Fire is a larger affair, so far as the cost is concerned, than the preparation and consecration of the Sacred Fire. In the total costs of the foundation of an Atash Behram, the cost of the building comes to much more than the cost of the ceremonies. So, I think, Desai Khurshedji's share in the total costs must be taken as forming a lion's share. Under these circumstances, if one were to ask in our Gujarati phraseology "Who *built* the Atash Behram of Naosari?" (નાસારીનાં આતશ બેહેરામ કોણે બાંધ્યાં?), one would say: "Desai Khurshedji built it" (દેસાઈ ખુરશેદજીએ બાંધ્યાં). But, if the question were: "Who prepared the Atash Behram of Naosari" (નાસારીનાં આતશ બેહેરામ કોણે બનાવ્યાં?), one may reply: "The Anjuman prepared it" (અનંદુમને બનાવ્યાં).

In this connection, we must bear in mind the state of affairs in those old times, about 167 years ago. The Parsees had not then, what we may now call, decent buildings for their sacred Fire-temples. Even now, if you will go to some mofussil villages, such as those around Surat, you will find that the Fire-temples there cannot easily be distinguished from other ordinary houses. We know from the Qissch that Naosari had an Atash Behram ere this and that was the Sacred Irân-Shâh Fire of Sanjan. They had no special building for that Sacred Fire. The Sacred Fire was located "in a good house specially vacated for the purpose" ('Yaki khush khânah-i khâli be-kardah, Varahrâm Âtashî-râ jây kar-

dah,' c. 306).¹ I think that when the new Sacred Fire of Naosari was prepared and consecrated, it must have been possibly installed in the same house where the Sanjan Fire stood for a number of years. However, wherever it could be, the Sacred Fire was not at first located in a special building with a dome. Desai Khurshedji must have, therefore, built a dome—I take it that a house with a dome is meant—and located the Sacred Fire there. The account as given by the Qisseh is confusive. The Qisseh says that Desai Khurshed provided a dome or built a house with a dome for it, after the preparation and consecration of the Sacred Fire was completed, and the final installation took place on the rôz Sarosh and mäh Ardibehesht, 1136 A.Y. There seems to be some confusion here. A dome, or a house with a dome, cannot be built in a short time after the completion of the consecration ceremony. What must have actually happened seems to be this that Desai Khurshedji must have proceeded to build the dome or the house with a dome, during the preparation and consecration of the sixteen fires. Or, perhaps, the Fire was installed in an old house on the rôz Sarosh and the dome, or the house with a dome, was provided by Desai Khurshedji a little later, and the author of the Qisseh has not carefully preserved the sequence of events. I think that the first must be the case. But this is not a very important point. What we gather from the statement of the Qisseh is this that Desai Khurshedji provided a proper decent habitation for the Sacred Fire. The Desais are, therefore, justified in saying that Khurshedji built the Atash Behram, *i.e.*, the house or temple for the Sacred Fire. An impartial study of the materials supplied by the Qisseh thus shows that both the sides are partially right and partially wrong.

1 *Vide* "The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Journal," No. 17, p. 61, n. 1.

XI

DATES OF EVENTS REFERRED TO
IN THE QISSEH.

- .C.
- 651 Fall of the Persian Empire on the death of Yazdajard and the flight of some Zoroastrians to Kohistān.
- 751 Flight of the fugitive Parsees at Hormuz, after a hundred year's stay in Kohistān. This date corresponds with that of the 'Abbasides coming to power as Caliphs.
- 766 Arrival at Div in Kathiawar after a stay of fifteen years in Hormuz.
- 785 Arrival at Sanjan after a stay of nineteen years in Div.
- 790 Founding of the first Fire-temple in India after a stay of five years in Sanjan.
- 1090 Beginning of dispersion to Vānkāner, Broach, Variav, Anklesar, Khambāyat and Naosari after a stay of about three hundred years more at Sanjan.
- 1290 Division of Gujarat into five *panthaks* or districts for sacerdotal work, two hundred years after the commencement of the Dispute.
- 1490 Conquest of Sanjan by the Muhammadan army of Mahmud Bigarha and the Flight of the Parsees to Bahrut.
- 1502 Arrival at Bansda with the Sacred Fire.
- 1516 Arrival at Naosari with the Sacred Fire.
- 1533 or 1560, (probably the former) Transfer of the town of Bulsar from the *Panthak* of Naosari to that of Sanjan.
- 1686 Quarrel between the priests and the laymen at Naosari.
- 1687 The priests of Naosari obliged to present a writing to the laymen, giving up their rights and privileges to officiate.

- 1735 The Behdins at the instance of Gangāji Rāo Gāikwār passed to the Bhagaria priests a document acknowledging the right of the Bhagarias to officiate at Naosari.
- 1740 A document from Damāji Rāo Gāikwār, [containing his decision that the Bhagaria priests had the right to officiate even in the houses of the Sanjānā priests.
- 1741 A permit given to the Sanjānā priests by Damāji Rāo Gāikwār, allowing them to leave Naosari for Bulsar.
- 1741 Rôz 28, Māh 12, Year 1109 Yazdajardi. The Sanjānā priests left Naosari for Bulsar with the Sacred Irān-shāh Fire.
- 1742 The Sanjānā priests, with the help of Rājā Durje Sang, went and settled at Udwadā with their Sacred Irān-shāh Fire.
- 1764 Rôz 3, Māh 1, Year 1134 A.Y. (19th October). The Naosari Anjuman resolved at the Rapithwin Jashan gathering, under the leadership of Desai Khurshed, to found the Atash Behram of Naosari.

A FEW DATES IN CONNECTION WITH THE FOUNDATION OF THE ATASH BEHRAM OF NAOSARI.

- 1764 (19th October), Rôz 3 Ardibehesht, Māh 1 Fravardin (Rapithwin day), 1134 A.Y. Resolution made by the Anjuman of Naosari, at the Rapithwin Jashan gathering, under the leadership of Desai Khurshed, to found an Atash Behram in Naosari (c. 510). The year is not mentioned, but from the fact that after the receipt of favourable replies, the ceremony of collecting the sixteen fires and of consecrating them is said to have commenced in 1134 A.Y. (c. 663), we take it that the year of the resolution also was 1134 A.Y.

- We find from these dates that the ceremony began two months and twenty-eight days after the date of the first proposal to found the Atash Behram. The enthronement took place ten months and seventeen days after the commencement of the ceremony.

1478, 1481, 1511, 1516. Known dates of events connected with Chànga Shâh.¹

1418, 1573. Known dates of events connected with the four sons of Chànga Asâ.²

1531-1570. Known dates of events connected with the sons and grandsons of the first two sons of Chànga Asâ.

1527 7th September, Dastur Behrām Pāhlan (Khurshedji Desai's ancestor³) mentioned in the Rivāyat of Cāmā Āsā.⁴

1535 17th January, Dastur Behram Pāhlan, mentioned in the Rivāyat of Aspandiyār Yazdyār and Rustam.⁵

1535 Dastur Behrām Pāhlan mentioned as a well-known learned Dastur⁶ in the time of Manock Chàngā whose known dates are 1520-1535.⁷

4 *Ibid.*

7 *Vide* my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," p. 98.

ZARATHUSTRA AND ZOROASTRIANISM IN MAÇOUDI'S KITÂB-I MURÛJ AL-ZA- HAB VA MA'ADAN AL-JAUHAR (BOOK OF MEADOWS OF GOLD AND MINES OF JEWELS)

BY THE LATE DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, KT., LL.D.

The object of this paper is to collect and examine the references to Zarathustra and Zoroastrianism made by Maçoudi who lived in the tenth century A.C. in his "Kitâb-i Murûj al-Zahab va Ma'adan al-Jauhar" (كتاب مروج الذهب ومعادن الجواهر), i.e., "The Book of Meadows of Gold and Mines of Jewels." In my references and version I follow the text and French translation of the work by C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (1861-1877).

Maçoudi¹ speaks of Zarathustra as 'Zarâdest.' He says that Zarathustra came to Balkh to the court of Yustâsf (يُستَاسف, 'Vistâspa' of the Avesta, 'Gustâsp' of Firdousi) from Âzarbaijân of which he was an inhabitant (من اهل آذربيجان). The genealogy of Zarathustra, as given by Maçoudi, corresponds, with some difference, to that which we find recited in the Âfringân prayers of the Parsis. I give below the names as given by him and found in the Parsi books:—

1 Maçoudi, Texte et Traduction par C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, Tome deuxième, Chap XXI, pp. 123-124.

Zarathustra's Genealogy (کرسی)

Maḡoudi (Vol. II, pp. 123-24)	Parsi Books ¹
زرادشت	Zarathusta
پورشسف	Pôrushasp
فذر اسف	Paitarasp
ار یکد سف	Aorvadhasp
هجد سف	Hachidasp
حخش	Chakhsnus
باتیر	Paitarasp
ار حدس	Hardarsni
هر دار	Hardhâr
اسپیمان	Spitâm
واند ست	Vidast
هایزم	Aizem
ارج	Razisni
دور شرین	Dorâsrûn
منوشهر	Manochihir

We gather the following particulars from Maḡoudi:

The prophet was called Zarâdust bin Asbîmân (زرادشت بن اسپیمان), which corresponds to the Pahlavi Zarathust Spitamân. He adds: "He was the prophet (پی) of the Magi (مجوس); he brought them the book (کتاب) commonly known as Zamzameh (زمزمه) but known among the Magi as the Bastâh (بستاه) which is a corrupt form of 'Avesta.'The language of the book has sixty letters, and no other language contains a larger number than this.....As the

1 I give the names as given in 'Dârâb Hormazyâr's Rivâyat,' by Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unvâlâ, with my Introduction, Vol. II, pp. 43-44, where they are given in the Avestan characters.

language in which the book was written was difficult to pronounce and unintelligible to the people, the prophet, in addition to the explanations which he had given in the book itself, added a commentary (تفسير), and which he explained by another commentary (tafsîr al tafsîr, تفسير التفسير). All the writings were written in gold and formed twelve thousand volumes which contain all matter, civil and religious. The kings of Persia took these books as their code till the time of Alexander (اسكندر), who after killing Dârâ (دارا) burnt a part of the books. Then, when, after the rule of the tribal kings (ملوك الطوائف), Ardasir Bâbakân came to the throne, he introduced the custom of reading one chapter (سورت) of the book called Isnâd (اسناد, i.e., the Yasna). The Magi still recite the chapter. To make the original book of the Bastâh (Avesta) intelligible, the prophet composed a commentary called the Zandâ (زند). Later on, he wrote another commentary called Bâzand (بازند, i.e., Pâzand). After the prophet's death, his learned disciples wrote a commentary and new explanation (شرح) of the two preceding commentaries named bâridah (بارد).¹

Maçoudi then refers to a peculiar process of the recital of the Scriptures. He says: "The Magi have not as yet succeeded in retaining by heart (حفظ) all their revealed books. So, their learned men ('ulamâ) and their 'herbads' (هرابد) are content with knowing by heart some parts, for example, a seventh, a fourth or a third part. One of the priests commences to recite the part which he has by heart; then the second takes his turn

1 It is not clear what this word is. It may be from 'boridan' (بریدن), to cut, and may be equivalent to *kardah* (from Av. √ keret, to cut), meaning, a section. We speak of the 'kardahs' or sectoins of the Yasts.

to recite what he knows by heart and then the third: and so on, until they complete the recitation. This shows that it is impossible for them to know by heart the whole of this book. However they say of a Zoroastrian in Sijistân (سیستان) who lived before the Hirji year 300, that he recited the whole by heart."

Zaradust preached for thirty-five years and died at the age of seventy-seven and was succeeded by Khânâs (خاناس). One of the variants of the word Khânâs, as given in his notes¹ by Barbier de Meynard, whose text and translation I have followed, is Khâmâs (خاماش). So, I think the name is Jâmâs (for Jâmâsp), 'Munsi' or Dastur of the court of Gustâsp.

Mağoudi refers to Zaradust and his writings again,² when he speaks of the reign of Bahrâm son of Hormuz. Mânî, son of Yazid (مانی بن یزید), flourished in Bahrâm's reign. The word zandik (زندق) came into use from the life-time of this Mânî who was the founder of the Zendikah (زندقه). Mağoudi gives this explanation of the word Zendikah (*i.e.*, Manichæism): Zaradust had brought the book of Bastâh (Avesta) for the Persians, which was written in their ancient language. He wrote a commentary of that Avesta and called it Zand. He added to this commentary (Zand) an explanation (شرح) which he named Bâzand (بازند). The Zand contains the explanation of the original book. Later, all those who rejected the authority of the Bastâh (Avesta) and followed the Zand, *i.e.*, the Commentary, were called the Zandî (زندى). Thus, the Zandî were those who, instead of following the original Avesta, followed the Zand, the commentaries. The Arabs afterwards took the word Zandî from the Persians and designated by this name the dualists and

See Vol. II, p. 448.

2 Vol. II, pp. 167-168.

all those who professed the belief in the eternity of the world and denied the belief in the creation.

Zaradust is named by Mağoudi, later on, along with other five: Set son of Adam, Messiah, Jonas, and two others who were light without body, *i.e.*, whose body cast no shadow.¹

Then Zaradust is again mentioned in Chapter LXVIII² in connection with an account of the fire-temples. Ten fire-temples existed before the time of Zaradust. From his time forward many others were built, such as those in Nisâpûr in Khorâsân, Nisâ and al-Baîdâ in Fârs. On the advice of Zaradust, Gustâsp discovered the Fire-temple founded by Jamsîd in Khârazm and brought the sacred Fire to Dârâbjard in Pârs. The temple was named Âzarjûy (آذرجوی) in 332 Hijri, when Mağoudi wrote his book, meaning "the Fire of the Rivulet."

The Chapter LXVIII is headed ذكراخبار عن بيوت

Mağoudi on the Fire-temples of Persia النيران وغيرها, *i.e.*, "An Account of the traditional views concerning Houses of Fire, etc."

The custom of paying reverence to the Fire in Persia began, according to Firdousi, in the reign of Hosang who was the founder of Fire-reverence. But, according to Mağoudi, it began later in the reign of Faridun. "This king, having seen a body of men prostrating before the fire, in the attitude of adoration, made inquiries from them about the origin and the hidden meaning of the cult which they professed. They succeeded in drawing him to their belief by showing to him that the fire partici-

pated in the nature of luminous divinities and that he served as intermediary between God and the creation." Maḡoudi then adds: "Without wishing to press upon so mysterious a doctrine here, we shall remark that the worshippers of fire establish different grades in light and distinguish the principle of light from the principle of heat. They maintain that every animated being is attracted by flame and consumed by it. It is thus that the light butterfly which flutters at night throws itself over the taper and dies in the flame. It is in virtue of the same (kind of) attraction that the deer, the birds, the wild animals fall at night, in the hand of the hunters. It is the same with fishing before flames such as is practised in the province of Basrah. The fish attracted by the light come up to the surface of the water and hurry towards the bottom of the ships round which burn lighted torches. The adorators say that light is the source of all the good things of the world. It is more noble than things that are dark and combat their influence. Water, the element opposed to the fire, is superior, because it extinguishes it. It is the essence of all that lives and fertilizes all nature."

According to Maḡoudi, Afaridun, being once instructed with these doctrines, carried a portion of this sacred fire to Khorâsân. He built a fire-temple at Tus and another in the city of Bokhârâ (مدینه بخارا) which was named Bardasvrah (بردسوره).¹

A third temple named Karâkarkân (کراکرکان) was built in Sijistân (سیستان) by Bahman bin Asfandyâr bin Yustâsf (Gustâsp). The fourth is found in the country of Shîz (شیز) in Irân (الران). It was, at first, consecrated to

1 Perhaps a corruption of Burz-i shouleh (برز شوله), "Tower of Flame."

idols which Anusirwân had removed. Others say that Anusirwân (انوشروان), having found in this temple an altar on which the sacred fire burnt, he transported it to the village named Birkah (برکه).¹ King Kay-Khusru had built a temple which was known under the name of Kusujah (کوسجه). Maçoudi, though he speaks of ten Fire-temples, enumerates only eight. He says they were founded before the advent of Zaradust. Then several were founded in the time of Zaradust. I give below the information in the form of a table:

*Maçoudi's List of Fire-temples founded before
Zarathustra.*

Founder	Place	Name of the Temple
1. Afaridun	Tus in Khorâsân	...
2. Afaridun	Bokhârâ	Berdasoureh بردسوره
3. Bahman	Sijistân	Karâkarkân کراکرکان
4. ²	Country of Shiz and Errân بلاد شیز و الران	
5. Kay-Khusru		Kusujah کوسجه
6. Founder not known	Kumis قومش	Jaris جریس ³
7. Siawakhsh	near Birkand (برکند)	Kanjdah کنجدہ
8. Bohrâsf (Lohrasp)	Arrajân ارجان in Fârs	

1 Barbier de Meynard adds a note that it is a pond near Shirâz.

2 The name of the founder is not given, but it is said that previously, it was a temple with idols which Anusirwân removed from there. Another version is given which says that Anusirwân found there on an altar (vafieh وفیہ) the sacred fire (نار معظية) burning. He removed the sacred fire to Birkah (برکه), which, according to Barbier de Meynard, is a basin or pond near Shirâz.

3 Or جریس or جرین according to other texts.

*Fire-temples founded in the time of and after
Zarathustra.*

Founder	Place	Name of the Temple
1. Not known	{ Nisâpûr نيسابور	
2. „	{ in Khorâsân	
3. „	{ Nisâ نسا } in Fars	
	{ Baizâ بيزا }	
4. Jamshid (discovered by Gustâsp at the instance of Zarathustra).	Found at Khârazm and (transported to Dârâbjard)	Âzarjuy ¹ آذرجوی

1 Maçondi says that according to a Persian tradition, at first it was Kai-Khusru who discovered the sacred fire at Khârazm during his expedition against the Turks; others say that Nusirwân discovered it later on and carried it to a place called Kariân (کریان). It burnt till the time of the Arab conquest when the Zoroastrians fearing that the Musalmans (مسلمون) may destroy it, divided the Fire into several parts. They kept one part at Kariân and carried others to Nisâ and Baizâ in Fars.

A NOTE ON THE CLIMATE OF IRAN

BY THE LATE DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, KT., LL.D.

Among the several causes of the downfall of the ancient prosperity of Iran one is its climate. I have spoken on this subject at some length in my first of the four lectures before the Cama Oriental Institute in 1926 as the Government of Bombay Fellowship Lecturer. The climate has turned dry and lessened the fertility of the soil. I give below a note from Dr. Sven Hedin on the subject which shows that at least during the period of the Zoroastrian rule over the country, the climate was well nigh steady.¹

EXTRACT FROM "OVERLAND TO INDIA" BY SVEN
HEDIN, VOL. II, PP. 232-234.

"The old religion of Persia, founded by Zoroaster, may, singular as it may appear, afford *a proof of the constancy of the climate during two and a half thousand years or more*. For, according to the most probable data, Zoroaster lived not long before the rise of the Achaemenid dynasty. According to Justi, this religion, as it is set forth in the Avesta, took the place of the old Magian religion of the Medes. 'The teaching of Zoroaster was first fully accepted and developed in Eastern Iran, and in western lands was mixed with foreign elements. The

¹ I am thankful to Mr. J. K. Kabraji for drawing my attention to Sven Hedin. It is with great pleasure that I give a note of this Swedish gentleman because I had the pleasure of meeting him at Stockholm when he had just returned from his first travels in Persia and talked with me in Persian. I had the pleasure of meeting him once again at Simla when he had just returned from his travels in Central Asia.

genuine Iranian spirit has always had its stronghold in Eastern Iran, while the western parts of the country were exposed to Babylonian and Greek influence.' Night and sleep are hostile powers. By the uprising of the sun the power of demons is restrained; thanks to the sun, irrigation, agriculture, and other work can be carried on, *whereby the extension of desert is checked*. 'When the desert with its storms smoothes out the roads, so that at night only the bright stars show caravans the way; when the heat of the sand raises up vapour which envelops the sun in a dense veil, this is the work of the evil spirits which dwell there; nay, even the storm is a *div* which fights against the trees created by God. The contrast between desert and fruitful land is repeated throughout Iran; numerous rivers, flowing through extensive lands with their beneficent waters, are suddenly lost in the sand; fruitful land is often closely bounded by arid tracts, and irrigation works lose their effect through the encroachment of the sandy sea.'

"Such a clearly pronounced struggle between life and death, between good and evil spirits, for the dominion of the earth could scarcely have been conceived unless the natural conditions in ancient Iran had given grounds for it. H. Kiepert expresses similar views: 'The effect which the nature of the country exercised on the minds of its inhabitants finds expression in the old Iranian belief in a beneficent creative power, and one hostile to mankind (Ormuzd and Ahriman); as creations of the latter are regarded the hot sandstorms, mirage in the desert, the cold of winter, miasma, noxious insects and snakes, etc.; hence the practical religious precepts ascribed to Zoroaster, the extermination of these creatures, the planting of trees, the construction of water-conduits, the sinking of wells, etc.'

“ Kiepert also points out that the great desert regions in the midst of Iran are responsible for the absence of a general name for this part of the country, as well as for the weakness of the State institutions which have been established in this country since the most ancient times. ‘ Only for short periods have powerful rulers or dynasties, such as the first Achaemenids, Alexander, and the first Seleucids been able to keep it all together ; during much longer intervals at least *two kingdoms* have, as a rule, existed side by side, *separated by the great desert*, the Medo-Persian, Bactrian, etc.’ When Kiepert also shows that the small cultivated strip along the southern foot of Elburz has been from the earliest ages the only practicable route between the west and east for large masses of troops, and that its importance stands out in every period of military history, we find *an indirect but very striking proof of the extension of the desert in former times over the same area as at present*. Politics, wars, religions, all have been affected by the geography of the country, and everywhere we detect the influence of the great desert on the life of the people. As long as records go back, the great desert has lain where it still lies, *and, on the whole, with the same characteristics as to-day.*”

THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

ANNUAL REPORT, 1932

The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute begs to submit their report of work done during the year 1932.

Membership

At the end of 1931 there were 210 Life Members. Owing to the death of six of them and the addition of one, the number stood at 205 at the end of the year.

Among the 67 Ordinary Members there were three deaths and six resignations against an addition of three new members, bringing down the number to 61 at the close of the year under report.

Deaths

The Committee places on record with regret the passing away of the following members:—

Life Members

- (1) Sardar Sir Bomanji Ardeskar Dalal, Kt.
(5-4-1932),
- (2) Burzoji Dadabhoy B. Jijibhoy, Esq. (10-5-1932),
- (3) Sir Dorab Jamshedji Tata, Kt. (3-6-1932),
- (4) Col. Sir Hormusji Edalji Banatwala, Kt.
(2-7-1932),
- (5) Dhanjishah Meherjibhai Madan, Esqr., M.A.,
LL.B., (Advocate), (13-7-1932).
- (6) Kharshedji Kavasji Suntoke, Esqr., B.A., LL.B.
(21-8-1932).

Ordinary Members

- (1) Ardeshtar Edalji Dalal, Esqr. (26-6-1932),
- (2) Dr. Rustam Nanabhoy Ranina (20-10-1932),
- (3) Lt.-Col. Merwanji Pestonji Khareghat
(17-12-1932).

Trustees of the Institute

Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt.,
C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.D. (1914),*
Sorabji E. Warden, Esqr. (1914),*
Kazi Kabiruddin, Esqr., Barrister-at-Law, J.P. (1914),
Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Solicitor (1916),
Diwan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B.,
(Advocate) (1916),
R. P. Masani, Esq., M.A. (1916),
Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, 3rd Baronet (1928).

*The Executive Committee**President*

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R. P. Masani, Esq., M.A.

Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Bart.

* Now deceased.

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B. N. Dhabhar, Esq., M.A.,
P. K. Motiwala, Esq., M.A., LL.B.,
Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji, B.A.,
Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar, M.A.,
Dr. Irach J. S. Tarapovvala, B.A., Ph.D., Barrister-
at-Law,
Dr. Jal Feerose Bulsara, M.A., Ph.D.,
Dr. Jal C. Pavry, M.A., Ph.D.

B. T. Anklesaria, Esq., M.A.

M. P. Khareghat, Esq., Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi,* Kaikhasru H. Cama, Esq., and B. T. Anklesaria, Esq., to consider the annual budget and questions relating to finance.

M. P. Khareghat, Esq., Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi,* R. P. Masani, Esq., Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri, Kaikhasru H. Cama, Esq., and B. T. Anklesaria, Esq., to consider the question of the Institute having its own building.

Ervad Framroze A. Bode, B.A.

Dr. Jal C. Pavry, M.A., Ph.D.,
 Ervad Manekshah Fardunji Kanga, B.A.,
 Lt. P. S. Tarapore.

* Now deceased.

Meetings

There were six meetings of the Executive Committee during the year.

Record of Service

The following resolutions were passed recording the services of the Revd. Dr. D. Mackichan and Miss D. Joachim Menant :—

The Revd. Dr. D. Mackichan

“ The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute express their deep sorrow at the sad demise of the Reverend Dr. Mackichan, retired Principal of Wilson College, who was the first to suggest the foundation of this Institute. Dr. Mackichan took a very deep interest in oriental studies and was ever anxious to further their growth. He was the first President of this Institute until the year 1917 when he left India. As he was greatly attached to India, he returned here on a visit in the year 1925, when this Institute took the opportunity to welcome him at its premises on the 5th March.

“ The Committee place on record their appreciation of his great scholarship and the yeoman services he rendered to this Institute and express their regret that in his passing away India has lost an esteemed scholar and a sincere well-wisher, and the student world an earnest devotee of learning and an esteemed friend. May his soul rest in eternal bliss, by God's blessings.”

Miss D. Joachim Menant

“ The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute express their deep sorrow at the sad demise of Miss D. Joachim Menant, the scholar-daughter of a scholar-father. Miss Menant had inherited the liking for the Parsi literature and history from her revered father Mon. Menant, who had written learned works on Zoroastrianism.

"The Committee record their appreciation of the deep interest Miss Menant took in matters of Parsi history and the enthusiasm she evinced for the first-hand knowledge of Parsi manners and customs which led her to pay a visit in 1901 to the Parsi centres of Naosari, Surat, Udwada, Sanjan, Nargol and other places. Her work entitled 'Les Parsis, Histoire des Communautés Zoroastriennes de l'Inde,' is well known. By her death the Parsis have lost a zealous scholar and a well-meaning good friend."

K. R. Cama's Death Anniversary

The twenty-third anniversary of the death of the late Mr. K. R. Cama was celebrated on Saturday, the 20th August 1932, in the hall of the Institute, when Sir Dinsha Edalji Watcha, Kt., presided.

Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., gave a discourse on "The Date of Zoroaster."

Lectures

1. Dr. Miss Betty Heimann, Professor of Indology at the University of Halle (Germany): "Modern Tendencies in Western Methods of Research in Oriental Studies," on Friday, the 19th February, 1932, when Madame B. P. Wadia presided.

2. Dr. Jal C. Pavry, M.A., Ph.D., "Pre-Zoroastrian Religion of the Iranians," on Wednesday, the 20th April, 1932, when Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi, Kt., C.I.E., LL.D., presided.

3. Dr. Raghu Vira, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.: "The Interrelation between Vedic and Avestic Cultures," on Tuesday, the 23rd August, 1932, when Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi, Kt., presided.

4-6. Dr. Jamshed M. Unvala, Ph.D., Ancien Élève de l'École de Louvre, Paris:

"Recent Excavations in Susa," on Thursday, the 25th August, 1932, when Mr. M. P. Khareghat, I.C.S. (Retd.), presided.

"Numismatic Notes," on Friday, the 26th August, 1932, when Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi, Kt., C.I.E., presided.

"Observations on Burial Customs in Ancient Persia, with special reference to the results of recent excavations," on Monday, the 29th August 1932, when Sir Dinsha E. Watcha, Kt., presided.

7-12. Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala, B.A., Ph.D., Barrister-at-Law, Principal of the M. F. Cama Athornan Institute:

"The Speech of Babies and its Lessons," on Monday, the 21st November, 1932, when Mr. M. P. Khareghat, I.C.S. (Retd.), presided.

"The Psychological Aspects of Speech," on Wednesday, the 23rd November, 1932.

"The Intellectual Laws of Language—I," on Monday, the 28th November, 1932.

"The Intellectual Laws of Language—II," on Wednesday, the 30th November, 1932.

"Some Ideas about Grammar," on Monday, the 5th December, 1932.

"The Mixing of Races and its Effects on Language," on Wednesday, the 7th December, 1932.

Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize Essays

The "Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize" of Rs. 225/- was announced in the public newspapers and journals for an English translation of the Ashi, Âstâd, Zamyât, Hâdôkht and Vistâsp Yasts, to be submitted on or before the 31st December, 1931. One essay was received under the nom-de-plume of "Ârmaiti."

The prize of Rs. 500/- for an English translation of the *Ābān*, *Kh'arsêṭ*, *Māh*, *Tir*, *Drwāsp*, *Mihir*, *Rashnu*, *Fravar-din*, *Rām* and *Din Yasts*, to be submitted on or before the 31st May, 1932, was reannounced. Two essays were received under the nom-de-plumes respectively of "Jivjān" and "Wie du kannst so wolle."

Mr. Šohrab J. Bulsara, M.A., and Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D., Barrister-at-Law, were appointed examiners. In their reports, dated the 6th August, 1932, the examiners declared the essays, bearing the nom-de-plumes "Ārmaiti" and "Wie du kannst so wolle" worthy of the two prizes of Rs. 225/- and Rs. 500/-. Ervad Manekshah Fardunji Kanga, B.A. the writer of the two essays, was awarded the prizes at the gathering which took place on the 20th August, 1932, the 23rd death anniversary of the late Mr. K. R. Cama.

The Executive Committee records its thanks to Mr. Sohrab J. Bulsara and Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporewala for kindly examining the essays without remuneration.

Bai Aimaë K. R. Cama Prize

Dr. Jehangir C. Tavadia, B.A., Ph.D., of Hamburg, has been entrusted with the translation of the Pahlavi text "Sitâyiniṭâriḥ-i Sûr Āfrîn," on an honorarium of Rs. 100/- The same subject was announced as the Bai Aimaë K. R. Cama Prize Essay in 1923 and the only essay then received was not considered worth recognition.

Life-Sketch of the Late Mr. K. R. Cama

Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi, Kt., has submitted his MS. of the "Life-Sketch of the late Mr. K. R. Cama," which will be published as early as convenient.

Publications

Four numbers of the Journal of the Institute, Nos. 20,

21, 22 and 23, and the Institute Publications Nos. 8 and 9 were published during the year.

Publication No. 8 contains "The Persian Rivayat of Hormazyâr Frâmarz and others, their Version with Introduction and Notes," a monumental work of Ervad Bamanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar, M.A. The Institute tenders its best thanks to the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayet, the Trustees of Sir Ratan Tata Charity, the Trustees of the M. F. Cama Athornan Institute and the Trustees of N. M. Wadia Charity for the munificent help of Rs. 770/-, Rs. 2,250/-, Rs. 1,000/- and Rs. 500/- respectively given by them to render this publication possible, at a cost of Rs. 4,818-12-0.

Publication No. 9 contains "The Annals of Hamzah al-Isfahâni," translated from the Arabic by Dr. U. M. Daudpota, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Arabic in the Ismail College at Andheri. The same was also printed as the Institute Journal No. 22.

The Executive Committee of the Institute regrets that owing to want of funds it cannot proceed with the publication of the Transliteration and Translation of the Pahlavi Vandidâd, prepared by Mr. Behramgore Tahmuras Anklesaria, and the late Mr. K. R. Cama's Collected Works which are out of print.

The Executive Committee is confident that its appeal for funds to publish these works will be liberally responded to by the Trustees of Charities and by philanthropic ladies and gentlemen.

Authors' and Classified Catalogues of the Additional Books of the Library

The Executive Committee has resolved to undertake the preparation of an Authors' Catalogue and a Classified Catalogue of manuscripts and books added to the Library of

the Institute after the publication of Mr. Dhabhar's Catalogue in 1923.

Repairs of Manuscripts and Books

The Executive Committee has sanctioned a sum of Rs. 150/- for repairs and binding of 46 manuscripts and books of the Institute, and a further sum of Rs. 100/- for some of the MSS. and books of the Hateria Collection.

Insurance

The manuscripts, books, furniture and deadstock of the Cama Oriental Institute and of the Manekji Limji Hateria Library have been insured for Rs. 50,000.

The manuscripts, books and furniture of the Mulla Firuz Kitabkhana are separately insured for Rs. 20,000 by the Committee of the Kitabkhana.

Use of the Institute Hall

The Executive Committee has given permission to use the Institute Hall for holding meetings to the "Gâthâ Society," the "Râhnumây Mâzdayasnân Sabhâ" and the "Esean Community" for nominal fees. The Institute has reserved to itself the right to cancel such permission whenever it thinks fit.

Donations

The Executive Committee has accepted with thanks donations received during the year, from the following donors:—

Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, in memory of his brother-in-Law, the late Mr. Jamshedji Rustamji Saklat	Rs.
A friend, in sacred memory of the 5th Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Bart. on the 1st anniversary of his death (Roj 1, Mah 6, 1301 A.Y.)	51/-
A Zoroastrian, by way of thanksgiving to God	10/-
	10/-

A well-wisher, in memory of his friend Dr. Rustam Nanabhoy Ranina	...	10/-
A friend, in sacred memory of Mr. Framji Rustamji Wadia on the occasion of the first anniversary of his death	...	5/-
A Zoroastrian, in memory of the late Seth Jijibhoy Dadabhoy on the occasion of the 83rd anniversary of his demise (Roj 18, Mah 8, 1301 A.Y.)	...	5/-
A Zoroastrian, in memory of his wife Bai Aimaie on the occasion of the anniversary of her demise (Roj 20, Mah 8, 1301 A.Y.)	...	5/-
A well-wisher, in memory of Shams-ul Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana	...	5/-
Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, in pious memory of his father on the occasion of his anniversary	...	5/-
Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, in pious memory of his sister Dhunbaiji on her anniversary	...	5/-
A sympathiser, on the auspicious day of the 21st month of the birth of dear daughter Pouruchisti	...	5/-
Total Rs.	...	116/-

General Fund

The General Fund of the Institute showed a balance of Rs. 2,01,383-3-2 on the 31st December, 1931. At the end of 1932 the balance was Rs. 2,00,726-6-5.

The Executive Committee tender their sincere thanks to Messrs. Navroz A. Davar & Co., Incorporated Accountants, for having worked as Honorary Auditors of the Institute.

BOOKS PURCHASED

English

"Umar Khayyām," by Masud Ali Varesi, 1922.

"Malcolm's Sketches of Persia," by Sir John Malcolm, 1861.

"Studies: Indian and Islamic," by S. Khuda Bukhsh, 1927.

"Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive," 1903.

"Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the year 1929," 1931.

"An Anglo-Indian Dictionary: A Glossary of Indian Terms used in English," by George Clifford Whitworth, 1885.

"Researches in Manichæism with special reference to the Turfan Fragments," by A. V. Williams Jackson, 1932.

"The Ball and the Polo Stick," by R. S. Greenshields," 1932.

"The Jewish Encyclopædia, Vols. I-XII," by Isaac K. Funk and others, 1905.

"The Dawn Breakers," translated and edited by Shoghi Effendi, 1932.

"A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Mss. belonging to the late E. G. Browne," by Reynold A. Nicholson, 1932.

"The Ethical Religion of Zoroaster," by Miles Menander Dawson, LL.D., 1932.

"The Collected Works of the Late Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana, B.A., Ph.D., J.P.," 1932.

"Mandolslo's Travels in Western India (A.D. 1638-9)," by M. S. Commissariat, M.A., 1931.

"Key to Interlingua or Latin without Inflections," by Members of Academia Pro Interlingua.

"Key to and Primer of Interlingua or Latin without Inflections," by Members of Academia Pro Interlingua.

"Primo Libro de Interlingua," by Members of Academia Pro Interlingua.

German

"Mandaische Schriften," by Dr. W. Brandt, 1893.

"Mandaische Religion," by Dr. A. J. H. Wilhelm Brandt, 1889.

"Die Religion Zarathustras," by Herman Lommell, 1930.

Persian

"Gui u Chaugan or Halnama," by A rifi, 1931.

Gujarati

જમે જમશેદ સેનટીનરી મેમોરીયલ વોલ્યુમ : જ્ઞાવી પ્રગટ કરનાર "જમે જમશેદ સેનટીનરી વરકીંગ કમીટી," ૧૯૩૨.

MANUSCRIPT PRESENTED

"An old manuscript of Khordeh Avesta in Persian Characters."¹

BOOKS PRESENTED

English

"Asiatic Papers, Part IV," by Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., 1929.²

1. Presented by Prof. Aga Sayyad Muhammad Ali Dāi, Professor of Persian, Nizam College, Hyderabad (Deccan), through Mr. Vicaji Dinshaw (Civil Surgeon, Retired) of Bolarum (Deccan).

2. Presented by Mr. Jehangir Bomanji Petit.

"Observations on the Religion of the Parthians," by Dr. J. M. Unwala, Ph.D., 1925.²

"Neryosang's Sanskrit Version of the Hom Yasht (Yasna IX-XI)," by Dr. J. M. Unwala, Ph.D., 1924.²

"Scientific Religion, being Lecture Notes for a series of Talks, Vol. 1," by G. N. Gokhale, 1930.²

"Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism," by G. K. Nariman, 1920.²

"Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism: Second Impression," by G. K. Nariman, 1923.²

"Thus Spake Zarathustra: A Book for All and None," by Friedrich Nietzsche, 1899.²

"Imperial Farmans (A.D. 1577 to A.D. 1805) granted to the Ancestors of His Holiness the Tikayat Mahraja," (Translated by Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri), 1928.³

"Bombay Gazetteer," Volume XXVI (Bombay Town and Island Materials), Parts I (1893), II (1894) and III (1894).⁴

"Bombay Gazetteer," Vol. XIV (Thana), 1882.⁴

"Bombay Gazetteer," Vol. I, Part II (Konkan, Dakhan, Kanarese Districts, Musalman, Maratha), 1896.⁴

"Bombay Gazetteer," Vol. XIII, Part I (Thana), 1882.⁴

"Bombay Gazetteer," Vol. IV (Ahmedabad), 1879.⁴

"Imperial Gazetteer of India," Vol. II (Bengal).⁴

"Indian Prehistoric and Prehistoric Antiquities," by R. B. Foote, 1916.⁴

"The Parsis of Bombay," by Rajendralala Mitra, 1880.⁴

3. Presented by the author.

4. Presented by the "Bombay Zoroastrian Jashan Committee," from the late Mr. Rustam N. Munshi's private library.

"The Treasures of the Magi," by James H. Moulton, 1917.⁴

"Biographical Treasury," by Samuel Maunder, 1842.⁴

"The Date and Country of Zarathushtra," by Vicaji Dinshaw, 1912.³

"History of the Lodge Rising Star of Western India, No. 342 S.C., Bombay, 1912," by Rt. Wor. Bro. D. F. Wadia.⁵

"Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXII," by the Calcutta University, 1932.⁶

German

"Archæologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, Band IV, Heft I and II," by Ernst Herzfeld, 1931, 1932.³

"Die Awestischen Herrschafts und Siegesfeuer mit Text, Übersetzung und Erklärung von Yasht 18 and 19," by Johannes Hertel, 1931.³

"Ein Bruchstück der Afrinaghan i Gahanbar," by Heinrich Junker, 1932.³

French

"Actes du XVIII^e Congress International des Orientalistes" (7-12 September 1931) by Congress Executive Committee, 1932.⁷

"Le Shinto Religion Nationale du Japon," by Genchi Kato, D.Litt., 1931.⁸

Sanskrit

"The Mahabharata: for the first time critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar," by S. B. Pant Pratindhi, 1927.²

5. Presented by Mr. Barjor Pestouji.

6. Presented by the University of Calcutta.

7. Presented by the Executive Committee of the Congress

8. Presented by the Guimet Museum.

“A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the Tanjore Maharaja Library, Tanjore, Vols. X, XI and XII,” by P. P. S. Sastri, 1931.⁹

“A Triennial Catalogue of Mss. collected in 1922-23 to 1924-25 for the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, Vol. V, Part 1—Sansk A B C,” by Prof. S. K. Sastri, 1932.⁹

“Apastamba’s Aphorisms on the Sacred Law of the Hindus; Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, Nos. XLIV and L,” by Dr. George Buhler, C.I.E., 1932.¹⁰

“Tarka Tandavan of Sri Vyasatirtha, Vol. I (University of Mysore Oriental Library Publications Sanskrit Series, No. 74),” by D. Srinivasachar, M.A., and Vidwan V. Madhwachar, 1932.¹¹

Persian

“Diwan-e Falaki-e Shirwani,” by Dr. Hadi Hasan, Ph.D., 1929.¹²

“Pahlavi Namah,” the Shah Namah of Nou Bakht.¹³

Gujarati

“પ્રુદા નામું, ભાગ ૧-૪,” કર્તી શે. મ. દેશાઈ, ૧૯૨૯, ૧૯૩૦, ૧૯૩૦, ૧૯૩૧.¹⁴

“અશો જરથુશ્ત્ર,” લેખક જેહાંગીર સોરાખજી તારાપોરવાલા, (આસો ૧૯૮૬).¹⁵

9. Presented by the Government of Madras.

10. Presented by the Government of Bombay.

11. Presented by the University of Mysore.

12. Presented by Sir Hormusji Cowasji Dinshaw.

13. Presented by Mr. Vicaji Ardeshir Taraporevala.

14. Presented by the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayet Funds and Properties, Bombay.

“અહેવાલે અરદેશર કાટવાલ ખહાદુર,” કર્તા ખાઇ ધનખાઇ
ખમનજી વાડયા, ૧૯૩૦.^{૧૪}

“શેઠ ખાનદાનની તવારીખ,” લખનાર મરહુમ શાપુરજી કાવસજી
હોડીવાલા, બી. એ., ૧૯૩૧.^{૧૫}

“પ્રસીદ્ધ પયગામખરો અને કેમો,” કર્તા રસ્તમજી હોરમસજી
સહીએદકાર, ૧૮૭૩.^{૧૬}

“અષો જરથુશ્ત્ર અને માજદયસ્તી ઝરથોશ્તી દ્વએન વિષેના
ગુહ્ય ખુલાસાઓ (ક્તુમ નેકીએ વહેદીન), ભાગ ૧ લો, ૧૯૩૨,” કર્તા
ડો. ફરામરોઝ સો. ચીનીવાલા.^{૧૭}

“જરથોશ્તીઓમાં પરજી તે સમયે આશીર્વાદ દેવાય છે તેનો
કવીતામાં કરેલો તરજુમો,” કર્તા મરહુમ શમ્સ ઉલ ઓલમા સરદાર
દસ્તુર હોશંગજી જમારપજી જમારપઆશાના, ૧૯૧૯.^{૧૮}

“નવસારીનાં મોટા દસ્તુર-દેશાઈ ખાનદાનોની દીસા-પોઠી,”
કર્તા એરવદ દારાં સોરાખજી દસ્તુર મેહેરજીરાણા, ૧૯૩૨.^{૧૯}

JOURNALS PRESENTED

English

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 23:
(The Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments).¹⁸

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 24:
Rock-Paintings and other Antiquities of Prehistoric and
Later Times (by Rai Saheb Manoranjan Gosh, M.A.).¹⁸

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 31:
The Indus Valley in the Vedic Period.¹⁸

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 37:

15. Presented by Mr. Kavasji Jalbhoy Sett.

16. Presented by a friend through Mr. Dinshah S. Masani.

17. Presented by Mr. Sorabji Pestonji Kanga of Hyderabad
(Deccan).

18. Presented by the late Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi.

An Archæological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan by Sir Aurel Stein.¹⁹

Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 43: An Archæological Tour in Gedrosia by Sir Aurel Stein.¹⁹

Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1926-27 and 1927-28.¹⁹

Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of Mysore, 1929.¹⁹

Archæological Survey of Mysore: Excavation at Chandravalli (Mysore State).¹⁹

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XX, Parts III, IV, V and VI, July, September, December 1929, and April 1930.¹⁹

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol. XII, Part IV (1931), Vol. XIII, Parts I-II (1931-32); Parts III-IV (1931-32).¹⁹

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. VI, Part I (1931); Vol. VII, Part I (1932).¹⁹

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XVII, Part IV (1931); Vol. XVIII, Parts I-IV (1932).¹⁹

The Young Zoroastrian, Vol. IV, Nos. 3-4 (September, December 1931), Vol. V, Nos. 2-4 (June, September, December 1932).¹⁹

Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, Vol. XV, Nos. 3-4 (July, November, 1931), Vol. XVI, Nos. 1-4 (January, April, July, October, 1932).¹⁹

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, Vol. VI, Parts 3-4, 1932.¹⁹

Review of Philosophy and Religion, being the Journal of the Academy of Philosophy and Religion, Vol. II, No. 3 (September, 1931), Vol. III, Nos. 1-2 (March, September, 1932).¹⁹

19. Presented by the Publishers,

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 51, No. 4 (December, 1931), Vol. 52, Nos. 1-3 (May, June, September, 1932).¹⁹

The Humanist, Vol. IV, Nos. 7, 8 and 9 (December, 1931, January and February, 1932).¹⁹

The Asiatic Review, Vol. XXVIII, No. 93 (January, 1932); No. 94 (April, 1932); No. 95 (July, 1932); No. 96 (October, 1932).¹⁹

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XXII, Nos. 3, 4 (January, April, 1932); Vol. XXIII, No. 1 (July 1932), No. 2 (October 1932).¹⁹

British Mazdaznan Magazine, Vol. 8, Nos. 2, 3, 5 (October, November, 1931 and January, 1932); Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 (May, June, July, August, 1932); Vol. 9, Nos. 1, 2 (September, October 1932).¹⁹

Archæological Survey of India: Ancient Monuments, Bihar and Orissa by M. Hamid.¹⁸

Hyderabad Archæological Series, No. 8: *The Inscriptions of Magai*.¹⁸

Annual Report of the Archæological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, 1931.¹⁹

Epigraphia Indo-Islamica, 1927-28 (G. Yazdani, M.A.), 1929-30.¹⁹

Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XI, No. 4 (String Figures from Gujarat and Kathiawar), by James Hornell, 1932.¹⁹

Zoological Survey of India Anthropological Bulletin No. 1, July 1931.¹⁹

Field Museum of Natural History, Vol. IX, No. 1 (Annual Report of the Director to the Board of Trustees for 1931).¹⁹

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXV, No. 3, 1929; Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 1930.¹⁹

The New Age: Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2 (October, November, 1931).¹⁹

Mazdaznan: Vol. 31, Nos. 3, 5 and 6.¹⁸

The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VIII, Nos. 1, 2, 3 (March, June, September, 1932).¹⁹

The Aryan Path, Vol. III, Nos. 6 and 7 (June, July, 1932).¹⁸

Somanatha and other Mediæval Temples in Kathiawar: (Archæological Survey of India, Vol. XLV, Imperial Series) by Henry Cousens, M.R.A.S. 1931.¹⁸

Reason: The Journal of the Rationalist Association of India, August-September, 1932.¹⁹

Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. I, Part I, 1932.¹⁸

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 8, Nos. 1 and 2, September, 1932.¹⁹

The Orient: A Bi-monthly Journal of Progressive Thought, July-August 1932.¹⁹

Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara, monthly Journal, Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 (August, September, October, November, 1932).¹⁹

India and the World: A Monthly Organ of Internationalism and Cultural Federation, December, 1932.¹⁹

German

Gottingische Gelehrte Anzeigen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 193 Jahrgang, Nos. 5-12 (May-December, 1931), 194 Jahrgang, Nos. 1-9 (January-September, 1932).¹⁹

Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, Heft 2,3, 1931; Heft, 1, 1932.¹⁹

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Neue Folge, Band 10, Heft 4, 1931, Band XI, Heft 1-2, 1932.¹⁹

Archiv Orientalii, Vol. III, No. 2, August 1931.¹⁹

French

Journal Asiatique Recueil Trimestriel de Memoires et de Notices, Tome CCXVIII, No. 1 (January-March 1931), CCXIX, No. 2 (October-December 1931), CCXX, No. 1 (January-March 1932).¹⁹

Sanskrit, Marathi, etc.

Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala Mandir, Vol. XII, Nos. 2, 3, 4; Vol. XIII, Nos. 1-2, June-September 1932.¹⁹

Telugu

Journal of the Telugu Academy, four numbers.¹⁹

Italian

Nuova Antologia: Anno 66; Fasc. 1424.¹⁹

Studi e Materiali de Storia delle Religion: Anno VIII, Vol. V, Fascicolo 1 and 2, 1932.¹⁹

Orientalia, Vol. I, Fascicolo 3, Nova Series, 1932.¹⁹

Gujarati

રાહે જરથુસ્ત્ર, વૌદ્યુમ ૧૩, નંબર ૪ (ડીસેમ્બર ૧૯૩૧); વૌદ્યુમ ૧૪, નંબર ૧-૩ (માર્ચ, જુન, સપ્ટેમ્બર ૧૯૩૨).¹⁹

THE K. R. CAMA

Balance Sheet as on

LIABILITIES				Rs.	a.	p.
General Fund	...	...	...	2,00,726	6	5
Fellowship Fund	...	...	...	30,000	0	0
Dr. E. J. Khory Fund	...	...	...	14,529	8	0
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund	...	...	...	5,824	6	8
Bai Aima K. R. Cama Fund	...	...	...	4,238	3	7
Surat Parsi History Fund	...	...	...	3,473	7	6
K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund	...	...	...	1,759	5	6
T. R. N. Cama Donation Fund	...	...	...	7,021	5	0
Bivayet Publication Fund	...	...	...	184	15	0
Pahlavi Vendidad Translation Fund	...	...	...	1,155	4	4
Maneckji Limji Hateria Library Fund	...	...	...	4,246	14	0
Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi Appreciation Fund	...	...	...	981	14	0

Total

2,74,141 10 0

KAIKHASRU HORMUSJEE CAMA,

Honorary Treasurer.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

31st December 1932

ASSETS				Rs.	a.	p.
Cash with Imperial Bank of India (Rs. 6,418-15-0):—						
Bai Aima K. R. Cama Fund Account	...	...		481	3	7
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund Account	...	...		294	4	8
All other Accounts	...	...	...	5,643	6	9
Securities—(With Imperial Bank of India as per Safe Custody Receipt, Rs. 2,67,722-11-0):—						
3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes of Rs. 78,700	...	...	...	62,829	11	0
5 per cent Government Promissory Notes 1945-55 of Rs. 500	...	...	...	500	0	0
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury Bonds of Rs. 51,500				51,535	4	0
6 per cent 1933-36 Bonds of Rs. 32,200	...			32,200	0	0
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds of Rs. 500				500	0	0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds of Rs. 1,17,800	...	...	...	1,18,088	12	0
Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	...	2,069	0	0
Total				2,74,141	10	0

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR & Co.,
 Incorporated Accountants (London).
 Honorary Auditors.

Bombay, 28th March 1933.

THE K. R. CAMA

Account

Account of the General Fund for the

CREDIT				Rs	a.	p.
BALANCE ON 1ST JANUARY 1932 (Rs. 2,01,383-3-2):—						
Cash with Bank ...	...	...	...	5,879	1	2
Securities ...	...	...	...	1,93,326	4	0
Furniture and Fixtures ...	...	...	...	2,177	14	0
ADMINISTRATION CHARGES:—(Rs. 833-0-2), recovered from						
The Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund ...	...	...	...	23	3	0
The Bai Aima K. R. Cama Fund ...	...	...	...	13	13	2
The K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund ..	...	...	...	6	4	0
The Fellowship Fund ...	...	...	...	129	12	0
The Mulla Feroze Kitabkhana ...	...	...	...	660	0	0
OTHER CREDITS (Rs. 13,632-10-7):—						
Life and Annual Membership Subscription ...	...	...	...	740	0	0
Donations ...	...	...	...	116	0	0
Interest on Investments ...	...	...	...	8,471	8	1
Income transferred from Dr. E. J. Khory's Account ...	...	...	...	856	12	6
Sale of Journals and Publications ...	...	...	...	168	10	0
Fees for the use of the Institute Hall ...	...	...	...	126	8	0
Sundry receipts ...	...	...	...	2	4	0
3½ per cent 1930 01 Government Promissory Notes of the face value of Rs. 4,600 transferred from Rivayet Publication Fund at 68½ per cent	...	...	...	3,151	0	0
Total Rs.				2,15,848	13	11

KAIKHASRU HORMUSJEE CAMA,

Honorary Treasurer.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

No. 1

year ended 31st December 1932

DEBIT				RS.	S.	P.
CASH DEBITS (Rs. 11,862-9-6):—						
Salaries and Wages	...	...	...	4,670	0	0
Rent	...	...	...	3,575	0	0
Books and Periodicals	...	...	...	1,026	8	3
Stationery and Printing	...	...	...	198	9	0
Postage and Registration	...	...	...	191	2	3
Insurance	...	...	...	56	4	0
Clothing to Peons	...	...	...	60	0	0
Other General Charges	...	...	...	343	0	9
Publication Charges	...	...	...	1,742	1	3
OTHER DEBITS (Rs. 3,259-14-0):—						
3½ per cent 1900-01 Government Promissory Notes of the face value of Rs. 4,600 taken up from the Rivayet Publication Fund at 68½ per cent	...	...	...	3,151	0	0
Depreciation of Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	...	108	14	0
BALANCE ON 31ST DECEMBER 1932 (Rs. 2,00,726-6-5):—						
3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes of the face value of	Rs.	64,900		50,669	12	0
5 per cent 1945-55 Government Promissory Notes of the face value of	"	500		500	0	0
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury Bonds of the face value of	"	26,800		26,818	12	0
6 per cent 1933-36 Bonds of the face value of	"	2,200		2,200	0	0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds of the face value of	"	1,15,500		1,15,788	12	0
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds of the face value of	"	500		500	0	0
Cash with Bank				2,180	2	5
Furniture and Fixtures				2,069	0	0
Total Rs.				2,15,848	13	11

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR & Co.,
Incorporated Accountants (London),
Honorary Auditors.

Bombay, 28th March 1933.

Account
FELLOWSHIP

Dr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Journals Printing Charges	...	1,920	12	0
Paid to Mr. Ivanow	...	600	0	0
Administration Charges	...	129	12	0
Balance on 31-12-32:—				
6 p. c. 1933-36 Bonds (F. V. Rs. 30,000),		30,000	0	0
		32,650	8	0

Account
DR. E. J. KHORY

Dr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Interest amount transferred to General Fund	...	856	12	6
Balance on 31-12-32 :—	...			
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds	14,400 0 0			
Cash	129 8 0	14,529	8	0
		15,386	4	6

Account
SAROSH K. R. CAMA

Dr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Two Prizes awarded	...	725	0	0
Stamp on Balance Certificate...	...	0	1	0
Administration charges	...	23	3	0
Balance on 31st Dec. 1932:—				
4 per cent B. P. T. Bonds...	1,000 0 0			
3½ per cent G. P. Notes (F. V. 200)	127 8 0			
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury Bonds of F. V. Rs. 4,400...	4,402 10 0			
Cash	294 4 8	5,824	6	8
		6,572	10	

No. 2 FUND

Cr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1932:—				
6 p.c. 1933-36 Bonds ...	30,000	0	0	
Cash ...	506	0	5	
		30,506	0	5
Interest ...		1,854	15	7
Transfer of part of charges for printing				
Journal to Publication charges ...		289	8	0
		32,650	8	0

No. 3 FUND

Cr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1932:—				
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury				
Bonds ...	14,400	0	0	
Cash ...	129	8	0	
		14,529	8	0
Interest ...		856	12	6
		15,386	4	6

No. 4 FUND

Cr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1932:—				
4 per cent B. P. T. Bonds ..	1,000	0	0	
3½ per cent G. P. Notes				
(F. V. Rs. 200) ...	127	8	0	
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury				
Bonds of F.V. Rs. 4,400...	4,402	10	0	
Cash ...	711	3	8	
		6,241	5	8
Interest ...		331	5	0
		6,572	10	8

Account**BAI AIMAE K. R. CAMA***Dr.*

			Rs. a. p.
Stamp on Balance Certificate	...	..	0 1 0
Administration charges	...	...	13 13 2
Balance on 31-12-32:—			
4 p.c. B.P.T. Bonds	...	1,300 0 0	
6½ p. c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of the face value of Rs. 1,800	...	1,804 2 0	
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes (F. V. Rs. 900)	...	652 14 0	
Cash	...	481 3 7	
			4,238 3 7
			4,252 1 9

Account**SURAT PARSI HISTORY***Dr.*

			Rs. a. p.
Balance on 31st Dec. 1932:—			
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes (F. V. Rs. 3,700)	...	2,379 9 0	
6½ p. c. 1935 Treasury Bonds (F. V. Rs. 900)	...	903 6 0	
Cash	...	190 8 6	
			3,473 7 6
			3,473 7 6

Account**K. R. CAMA ANNIVERSARY***Dr.*

			Rs. a. p.
Anniversary Celebration Expenses	...	...	46 7 6
Administration Charges	...	...	6 4 0
Balance on 31-12-32:—			
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds (F.V. Rs. 1,500)	...	1,500 0 0	
Cash	...	259 5 6	
			1,759 5 6
			1,812 1 6

No. 5 .
FUND

Cr.

		Rs	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1932:—				
4 per cent B. P. T. Bonds...	1,300 0 0			
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury Bonds of the F.V. of Rs. 1,800 ...	... 1,804 2 0			
3½ per cent G.P. Notes (Face Value Rs. 900) ...	... 652 14 0			
Cash ...	... 297 9 9			
		4,054	9	9
Interest ...	...	197	8	0
		4,252	1	9

No. 6
FUND

Cr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1932:—				
3½ per cent G. P. Notes (F.V. Rs. 3,700) ...	... 2,379 9 0			
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds (F.V. Rs. 900) ...	... 903 6 0			
Cash ...	... 3 0 6			
		3,285	15	6
Interest ...	...	187	8	0
		3,473	7	6

No. 7
FUND

Cr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1932:—				
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds F.V. (Rs. 1,500) ...	... 1,500 0 0			
Cash ...	... 222 13 0			
		1,722	13	0
Interest ...	...	89	4	0
		1,812	1	0

Account**T. R. N. CAMA***Dr.*

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 31st Dec. 1932:—			
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes (F.V. Rs. 5,000) ...	5,000	0	0
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds (F.V. Rs. 1,700) ..	1,706	6	0
Cash	314	15	0
	7,021	5	0
	7,021	5	0

Account**RIVAYET PUBLICATION***Dr.*

	Rs.	a.	p.
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes (F. V. Rs. 4,600) transferred to Investments in General Fund at 68½ p.c. ...	3,151	0	0
Printing and binding charges of 500 copies of Rivayet ...	4,818	12	0
Loss made on the transfer of Investments to Investments in General Fund ...	477	4	0
Balance on 31st Dec. 1932:—	184	15	0
Cash	8,631	15	0

Account**PAHLAVI VENDIDAD PRIZE***Dr.*

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 31st Dec. 1932:—			
Cash	1,155	4	4
	1,155	4	4

FUND

Cr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1932:—						
3½ per cent G. P. Notes						
(F. V. Rs. 5,000) ...	5,000	0	0			
6½ p.c 1935 Treasury						
Bonds (F. V. Rs. 1,700)...	1,706	6	0			
Cash ...		29	15	0	6,736	5 0
Interest ...					285	0 0
					7,021	5 0

No. 9

FUND

Cr.

					Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1932:—							
3½ per cent G. P. Notes							
(Face Value Rs. 4,600)...	3,628	4	0				
Cash ...		835	14	6	4,464	2	6
Interest ...					187	5	6
Sale of 75 copies of Rivayet ...					829	7	0
Realization on the Transfer of 3½ p.c.							
G. P. Notes (F. V. Rs. 4,600) to Invest-							
ments in General Fund at 68½ p. c. ...					3,151	0	0
					8,631	15	0

No. 10

TRANSLATION FUND

Cr.

					Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1932:—							
Cash ...					1,155	4	4
					1,155	4	4

Account

MANECKJI LIMJI HATERIA

		Rs.	a.	p.
Fire Insurance Premium ...	..	37	8	0
Balance on 31-12-1932:—				
3½ p.c. G.P. Notes (F.V. Rs 4,000) ...	.. 4,000 0 0			
Cash ...	... 246 14 0	4,246	14	0
		4,284	6	0

Account

DR. SIR J. J. MODI

Dr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 31-12-1932 :—				
Cash ... ..	..	981	14	0
		981	14	0

No. 11

LIBRARY FUND

Cr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1932 :—						
3½ p. c. G.P. Notes (F. V.						
Rs. 4,000)				4,000	0	0
Cash	...	...	144-12-0	4,144	12	0
					139	10
Interest	...	...				0
				4,284	6	0

No. 12

APPRECIATION FUND

Cr.

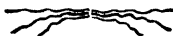
		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance of Cash on 1st Jan, 1932	...	981	14	0
		981	14	0

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EDITED BY
SEHRAMGORE T. ANKLESARIA, M.A.



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PREFACE BY THE TRANSLATOR

This is the third in Prof. **Ch. Bartholomae's** series of essays on Sasanian Law, the translations of Part I and of the Introductory Part having appeared in the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute in 1931 and 1932 respectively. Very little need be added to what has been said in the Translator's Prefaces to the two aforementioned essays, the method applied in translating the essay here submitted having been throughout the same as in the two previous translations and the peculiarities of the German original remaining the same as those which were discussed by the present writer in his earlier Prefaces.

As a matter of course, pages of the English translations have been substituted wherever the two preceding essays are quoted by the author in the text of the present treatise.

L. BOGDANOV.

PREFACE BY THE AUTHOR.

I am fulfilling herewith the promise given in the foreword to Part First of my proposed series on Sasanian Law, by submitting to the reader this Second Part. For many reasons the publication thereof was delayed more than I myself could have foreseen. Yet, far be it from me to believe that I should thus have kept anybody waiting for its appearance; for how many are there nowadays, who would care for Pahlavī or for Sasanian law?

Some twelve years ago, when the unthought of manuscript treasures of Turfan, equally important both from the linguistic point of view and with regard to their contents, were discovered, one could have cherished the hope that the study of Middle-Iranian languages would receive through it a tremendous fresh impetus. And at first, that hope seemed to begin to be realized. All Iranists felt themselves stirred up for more intensive work. And then death came and reaped amongst them its terrible harvest. **Justi, Hübschmann, Horn, Salemann, Mann, Gauthiot** : they all had to depart inside of the short period of a few years, and with them many a beautiful plan, many an undertaken work remained undone. And of the few veteran Iranists who still remain, several, unfortunately, have now for several years wholly turned away from that branch of research. **Iranian studies are dying out.**

But the younger ones? The rising generation? The fact is that no research can flourish along with material cares; and material troubles of every kind are nowadays more pressing than ever. The academical

profession during these last forty years, that is since I was admitted into the faculty, has been becoming more and more plutocratic. That an Iranist cannot count on any substantial income from lecture-fees, lies in the nature of things. The same holds good for the Indologist as well. But the latter, even should he devote himself exclusively to things Indian, putting wholly aside Indo-Germanic linguistics and, before all, Iranian studies, has still the prospect of getting at some time in the future a lucrative professorship. For an Iranist, who cannot possibly get along without a certain amount of linguistic knowledge and without some acquaintance with Sanskrit, that hope does not exist. **Iranian studies are bound to die out**, unless the preference (which as I am very well aware, is based on historical reasons) accorded to things Indian to the detriment of Iranian studies, is done away with, unless, along with professorships for Indian philology, similar chairs for the Iranian branch, or at least for the Aryan (*i.e.* for the Indian and the Iranian) languages are created. I still hope to see that day.

NOTES ON SASANIAN LAW.

PART II.

FROM THE GERMAN OF

PROF. CH. BARTHOLOMAE (HEIDELBERG)

translated by

L. BOGDANOV.

IV. MhD. 6. 2-6.

[A special case of indictment of possession.—With expositions regarding the taking of oath.]

پشمار کا کو گفٹ وهرام
pēšēmār ka ku guft vahrām

آتورفاربای خاستاک ین کو گوت
āturfarnbay x'āstak ên ku gōwēt

آتورفاربای هات بوت خ'یش ۳
ō āturfarnbay hač bût x'ēš 3

۱ مات مان ۵ میهریون هات میهریون
u mat man 5 mihryōn hač mihryōn

آپات، خشاییهات ۱ خ'یش مان
apāt, xšāyihāh u x'ēš man

*Vahrām*² has said: When the plaintiff says: This thing was the property of *Āturfarnbay*. 3. from *Āturfarnbay* it had come to *Mihryōn*, from *Mihryōn* to myself, and is [now] my property, and *Farroṣ*³ has it unlawfully. 4. in his possession: then *Farroṣ*³ at

1 Wanting in the Ms.

2 A lawyer very often quoted, see pp. 41, 71. 3 The defendant.

of the dictum is different; here it stands 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭡𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭮
...𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭡𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭡𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭮 hač dast_owarān bē gyāk
1 nipišt ku .., i.e. from the *Dast_owarān* one passage is quoted :...¹ In that recapitulation there is actually found, after *āturfarnbay xʳēš būt*, the hač (𐭠𐭣) omitted in the first instance, then the text continues right away with *xʳēš apāt_oxššāyihāh* (the *u* between is wanting) so that we may suppose that the copyist had jumped over a whole line of the original. The remainder of the text up to the end of the passage agrees again with the first formula, barring the omission of the not very necessary *pa nikīrišn* before *pa nē ētōnh* (which might have resulted from the succession of *pa—pa*), and the substitution of 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭡𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭮 *hakar* for *ku* in line 5, which does not change the sense.

The other passage, *MhD.* 14. 5-7, also contains the *huc* wanting in the first dictum and has apparently been handed down almost quite correctly², yet, with an essential simplification both of the case, and of the decision.

It runs : مالاکوت کس لای سے آیا ہے کہ
۱۔ کہ 6 آیا ہے اب 7 کا گۆت کو اتورفاربای
مالاکوت کی دوا میں سے آیا ہے کہ
8۔ سے 9۔ سو گیا ۔
::

7 ka gōwēt ku āturfarnbay
*x'ēš būt u hač 6 āturfarnbay ō man mat pusānveh guft
ku ka var ētōn varzēt ku āturfarnbay x'ēš nē 7 būt var
bavandak, i.e.* When [the plaintiff] says : “[The thing] was

1 cf. for the combination *hač dast₀warān bē* p. 69 foll.

2 See, however, note 3, 4. 3 Ms. —၁၃၁၁၁၁. 4 Ms. ၁၃၁၁၁၁.

the property of *Āturfarnbay* and from 6 *Āturfarnbay* has it come to me": *Pusānvēh*¹ has said: "When [the defendant] takes the oath thus: '[The thing] had 7 not been the property of *Āturfarnbay*', then the oath is sufficient".² [The *dāt, stān* is directly connected with the preceding one translated on p. 13, from which the details not specified herein are to be supplied.]

For the contents of the dictum see also the Objective Remarks.

Linguistic and Objective Remarks.

1. *𐬔𐬀* var "ordeal; oath".—On the meaning of var in Sasanian law (p. 6 to 50).

In the Avesta the corresponding word is ²*varah-n*, which I have rendered in the AirWb. 1365 through "Probe, Prüfung, Ordal". That meaning certainly holds good for A. 3. 9, where the case of a devout man is discussed, who submits himself to the "hot" or "heat-ordeal":

garəmə.varah-³; in Middle-Persian books 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

*garmūk*⁴ var, also 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *garmūk*⁴ varīh, or 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

𐭪𐭫 var i *garm*, is used in its stead, e.g., PA. 3. 9; DkM. 701. 16; 706. 20 etc.; and the two other Avestan passages for ²*varah*- do not, in any case, contradict that definition; those are Yt. 12. 3 and F. 4c.

None of these passages gives any clue as to the origin of the word, and the Middle-Persian passages


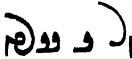
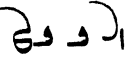
1 A lawyer often quoted; cf. p. 12, 69 and WZKM. 27. 362.

2 cf. for the expression p. 41 foll.

3 See for this AirWb. 48.

4 For the reading with -ūk see jAw. *garəməum*, AirWb. 516 and Brugman Gdr.² 22 Güntert: Reimworth. 85 f.

(which come below) as little. It thus remains obscure. My explanation in the AirWb. 1365 is most uncertain. The one given by **Darmesteter**, ZA. 1. 227, note 5, is entirely improbable. He takes ²*varah-* "ordeal" to be equal to ¹*varah-* "the chest" (=AI. *úras-*, Pers. *ṣ. bar*); *garēmō. varō*—he understands as "la poitrine chaude". That cannot be made even to look probable, not to speak of its being proved to be so, either by the Sanskrit translation *hrdayadivya* "l'épreuve du cœur" in A. 3. 9. or by the remark Šnš. 15. 16 foll. (SBE. 5. 376).

The MPB.  *var* is also usually translated "divine judgment, divine justice, ordeal". **West** renders it regularly by "ordeal", see SBE. 5, 18, 37, 47, in the Index under "ordeal". I do not at all deny that this translation fits and is correct for a whole series of MPB. passages: thus, for the above quoted passage of the Dēnkart, further, for DKM. 711. 9, which treats of  *var i* *sart* and  *var i garm*—"the cold and the hot *var*"; compare the fire- and water-ordeal among the Hindus (see **Jolly**, "Recht und Sitte", 145, Nos. 2 and 3), or also the two kinds of "water-ordeal" in the Ancient-German proceedings at law;¹ then, there is the well-known ordeal to which *Āturpat* is supposed to have submitted himself for the purpose of confirming his teachings, by

1 *Judicium aquae ferventis* ("the cauldron-trap") and *judicium aquae frigidae*; see **Hoops**, "Reallexic." 2. 321. A remembrance of a divine judgment corresponding to the "cold water-trial" (only with the opposite valuation of the workings) is concealed in the sixth miracle by *Jamšīd*, related in the *Rivayats* (see **Bthl. ZendHss.** 152. 5 ff.). Of the two opponents in a law-suit, the one who told an untruth perished in the river, while the judge stood by on the bridge.

letting molten metal be poured on his chest; see SBE. 5. 376; 24. 171; 47. 74 f. and below p. 9 line 15 ff.

Yet, I would draw attention to the very important fact, that in the Sasanian Law-book, (the only Middle-Persian written work, of which it may be admitted with certainty, that it designates the legal conceptions by the exact terms which were used in legal language, because it is the only juridical work of that time) there never occurs the expression current in other Middle-Persian books and universally in use in later dialects, the expression namely for *sōkand x'artan* "to take oath", which properly means "to drink brimstone (-water)"¹— Pers. سوگند خوردن *saugand xurdan*; see MiranM. 2.7¹— although there was many an opportunity for using it, still, wherever it might have been expected, there always

appears 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *var varzītan*, i.e. literally, "to perform *var*", see below p. 24 ff. In the Pahlavi Vendidad opportunity for using it is met with only in one passage,

PV. 4. 55, and here also there stands 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *var kē varzēt*. Similarly, the author of the Dēnkart in his tables of contents of juridical works always uses the ex-

pression 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *var varzītan*, e.g., DKM. 707. 6; 709. 15; 711. 8; 893. 16 (see p. 11 note 3). On the other hand, in other Middle-Persian books the expression 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *sōkand x'artan* is found, and only that expression; the same expression is also exemplified both in Manichaean-Pahlavi (MPT.) and in Middle-Soghdian (MS); see the examples in MiranM. 2. 7. The circum-

1 The examples given there could be multiplied; cf. Afy. *saugand xwaral*; cf. further ZDMG. 38. 73 (at the bottom of the page) and below p. 39.

stance, that we find in the Dēnkart, which belongs to the IXth century, the combination *var varzītan*, whereas other Middle-Iranian books of the same age, nay, even older, know only the expression *sōkand x'artan* (*sōgand x'ardan*), is easily explained: the author of the Dēnkart has taken the expression as he found it in the works (**juridical**) reviewed by him, although the said expression was not in current use in his own time.

On the other hand, the Rivāyāts, even in their juridical passages, offer exclusively *saugand xurdan*, and, indeed, quite in the sense of *var varzītan* of the Law-book. Nay, even the isolated *saugand* stands everywhere instead of the *var* of the Law-book. No difference in meaning can be discovered between the two words. "Pouring molten brass on the chest" of the accused

(*vitāxt rōd apar var rēxtan*) is defined in DkM. 644. 18 as one of the methods

(*āhang ēvak*) of performing the *var* (*var pasāxtan*); and when iron made hot and

red² is being placed on his tongue (*ke āhen krm u srx krde*) (*ki āhen *garm u surx kardā bar zabān mī nihāda and*), that is called in the big Munich-Rivāyat (see ZendHss. 145. 12) one of the manners (*gūna*) of the *saugand*. In DkM. 644. 16 f. it is further mentioned that 33 different kinds (*ēvēnak*) of the *var* are distinguished, and similarly it is said in the above Rivā-

1 Ms. *سدن*.

2 i.e. red-hot.

* I would read it with an izafa: *āhan-i garm u surx kardā*, "*surx-kardā*" being here a compound adjective, not a verb.—Note by the Translator.

yat (145. 13), that there exist 33 kinds (𐬵𐬀 *gūna*)¹ of the *saugand*. Yet, it is added that their number had lately considerably decreased; in connection with this remark stands also the statement in the Dēnkart (DkM. 454. 7; see also Darmesteter, ZA. 1. 227, note 15), according to which such kinds of *var*, as were based on the use of molten metals have been abolished since the end of the Sasanian dynasty.

There, truly, exists a difference in meaning between the older *var* and the *saugand* of the later language; but not a very profound one. The oath was in most cases a purification-oath; it served also a purpose similar to the divine judgment, namely, in so far as it was meant to substantiate the denial of the plaintiff's statements, in order to strengthen its *nē ētōnīh* "untruthfulness" (see p. 59, under 3). In earlier days not only the oath, but, above and besides, (as a more effective measure) divine judgment was resorted to as a means of purification, with the view of confirming the correctness of the oath already taken,² the word *var* designating both these

1 I should not advise that any particular stress should be laid on the figure quoted. Numbers divisible by 11 are most favoured, as being mystical, especially 33; cf. e.g. in Ancient-Indian RV. 3.6. 9; 8, 28. 1; 30. 2; AV. 6.25. 1—3, 19, 3—5, in Ancient-Iranian, Yt. 13. 17; V. 22. 2. The contemporary Parsis in India reckon 33 *Yazatas*, and different sacrificial offerings have to be 33 in number. Among Indians 9 kinds of divine judgment were distinguished, see Jolly "Recht und Sitte", 145.

2 "The demonstrator, before he entered the divine judgment had to swear on oath to the truth of his statement, thus, the divine judgment was not, generally speaking, a means of proving the truth in itself, but only a confirmation of the oath"; thus in the German law, cf. Schröder, "DRechtsgesch." 378. See also Amira, Grdr. Germ R³. 278 and K. Lehmann in Hoops Reall. 2. 322, § 3 and 5.

it may have happened, that its definition, as that of "drinking sulphur-water", became the definition for the totality of the legal proceedings, i.e. for the magic of the

var (نیرانگ و وار *nīrang-i var*¹); that, in the first instance,

سوکند و آرتان *sōkand x'artan* (see p. 8 ll. 24-25) was

used in the sense of وار و رزتان *var varzitan* (see p. 8 line 16)² until, finally, the **conceptional approximation** of *sōkand* "brimstone(-water)" and *var* "oath" was reached, and further the **supplanting** of *var* by *sōkand* altogether, so that the word *var* **wholly disappeared** from use.

But *sōkand x'artan* is, it must be understood, the expression used for "taking an oath" not by lawyers, but amongst the laity, the popular expression, so to say.

The Sasanian judge داتوار *dātōwar*³, at least in the older times, was still acquainted with the different kinds of performing the *var* and decided upon its application in the case of one appointed and willing to fulfil the ceremony of the *var*, the so-called *varīk* (واریک), see DkM. 709.

1 e.g., DkM. 743. 12; 861, 18; 893. 22; 894. 1, 5, 8, 9; 926. 14; 927.

2. West, SBE. 37. 165, 284, 329 f., 371 translates "the rite or the ritual of ordeal".

2 Compare for this the German expressions: "Dafür will ich die Hand ins Feuer legen" and "Darauf werde ich Gift nehmen", which only signify nowadays: "I will take an oath on it, if necessary".

3 In MhD. 3. 7 f. two classes of judges are distinguished: داتوار کاس *dātōwar i kas* "the older judge" and داتوار کاس *dātōwar i kas* "the younger judge". *mas* and *kas*, most probably refer to age; see, e.g., PN(T). 1. 10 and the AirWb. 1298 (below). But the judges were certainly distinguished not merely by their respective age, but, before all, according to their rank, cf. DkM. 790. 6 f. (SBE. 37, 178) where mention is made of a *frōttar dātōwar* and an *apartom vičīrkar*.

21). When the judge in some legal instance deemed it proper to apply the *var* of "drinking sulphur-water", he used in his decision the expression $\text{var i pa s\ddot{o}kand}$, "the *var* with brimstone(-water)". We find it twice used in the Law-book: MhD. 13. 9 and 78. 16¹.

The MhD. mentions several other kinds of the *var*; unfortunately, the details specifying their peculiarities are rather obscure.

a) A peculiar *var* is described in MhD. 14. 3 and 13. 3.

a) There stands in MhD. 14. 2-5: $\text{p\ddot{e}šēmār gōwēt ku 3 x'āstak man x'ēš u apāt, x'sāyihāh pasēmār dārēt}^3$ [u] $\text{dāt, stān bē var i pād} \times ? \times \text{mat 4 pasēmār ka var ētōn varzēt ku nē tō x'ēš pusānveh i āzātmartān guft ku 5 var bavandak farroš}^4$ $\text{zorvān-ēc hamgōnak guft, i.e., when the plaintiff says: "The thing is my property, and the defendant has it unlawfully in his possession,}^3$ and the decision has come to $\text{var} \times ? \times \times ? \times$ ",⁴

\therefore pasēmār dārēt^3 [u] $\text{dāt, stān bē var i pād} \times ? \times \text{mat 4 pasēmār ka var ētōn varzēt ku nē tō x'ēš pusānveh i āzātmartān guft ku 5 var bavandak farroš}^4$ $\text{zorvān-ēc hamgōnak guft, i.e., when the plaintiff says: "The thing is my property, and the defendant has it unlawfully in his possession,}^3$ and the decision has come to $\text{var} \times ? \times \times ? \times$ ",⁴

1 The Ms. has $\text{var i pa s\ddot{o}kand}$ instead of $\text{var i pa s\ddot{o}kand}$, see p. 15 note 1.

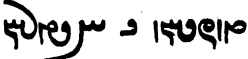
2 Wanting in the Ms.


3 The current formula (*certa verba*) for an indictment of property; see p. 21 line 7 foll.


4 cf. for the expression below p. 30.

when [then] the defendant takes the *var* thus: "It is not thy property"—: *Pusānvēh i Āzātmartān*¹ has said: "The *var* is sufficient"²; and *Farroḡzorvān*³ has said likewise.

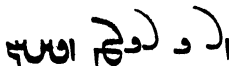

β) The *dāt.stān* with the second example, MhD. 13. 1-13, lacks the beginning (lost with the preceding folio) and is otherwise presented in a distorted state, so that I am not in a position to give a translation of the whole passage; it obviously treats of a complaint which is enforced on account of the pending debts of deceased parents with regard to their sons and heirs; that is shown

by the first words of the folio (13. 1): 

 *tōzišn i pitarān hamēmār hand*; cf. p. 32 f. and under d. The conclusion MhD. 13. 2 f. runs:



𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ka var ān i 3 pād × ? × var pa nē dānom var-zišn*; i.e., when the *var* [is]⁵ the $\times ? \times \times ? \times$, then he has⁶ to deliver⁷ the *var* on "I do not know".

 and  certainly mean one and the same thing, although the last graphical combination is not written quite in the same manner. Most probably it could have meant *nišān* = Pers. نشان, which generally means "token, mark",

1 A lawyer quoted several times; e.g., MhD. 5. 9; A. 4. 2; 16, 5, etc.; see above p. 6, note 1.

2 cf. below p. 41.

3 A lawyer seldom quoted; see MhD. 2. 15.

4 Ms. .

5 i.e. when the judge has decided upon that kind of *var*.

6 Namely *pasēmār*, the defendant; see p. 16, line 11.

7 As opposed to *var pa nē itēnih*, "the *var* of being not true" in ll. 1-2; see p. 10, 16, 20, 40, 59.

for cases where certain kinds of *var* are performed, beginning with the *var i pa sōkand* and ending with the *vār i pa nāmak pasāč*, but not for cases, where a higher degree of *var* is involved?¹ Was the advocate entitled to perform the *var* in the place of the person represented by him? And, if so, was that right universal or only applied in certain cases on account of some exceptional circumstance in the affairs of the person represented?

c) In MhD. 13. 1 we find the combination *var i dēnik*, i.e. *var ad religionem pertinens*. It seems,

that the sentence: *...ka var i dēnik pasēmār var pa nē*

ētōnih varzišn takes here the place of the *ka var ān i pād nišān var pa nē dānom varzišn* quoted on p. 14, under β). In that case the *var ān i pād nišān* and *var i dēnik* would be identical, and, whatever definition of some special kind of *var* is contained in the former, the same ought also to be concealed in *var i dēnik*. It should accordingly be translated: "when the *var i dēnik* [is decided upon], then the defendant has to deliver the *var* of the untruthfulness² [of the plaintiff's statement]". With the spurious exemplification of the *dāt, stān*, no sure surmise can be made. Nothing certain can also be deducted from the

passage in the Dēnkart with *dēnik var*, DkM.

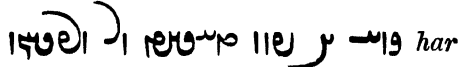
ka gūrēt ku-m yātakgōw kart būt kē guft ku-š tāk var kart būt kē guft ku-š tāk graw kart barēt, i.e. if he says: "Thou hast been appointed as defence by me":—some have said: "He is appointed till the *var* [is performed]"; others have said: "He is appointed up to [supplying] the security."




¹ For this see p. 17.


² *nē ētōnih*, see p. 14, No. 7.

rather obscure, because their correct comprehension presupposes the acquaintance with the texts therein reviewed, which are unfortunately lost; cf. p. 53 f. for MhD. 16. 14-17 and DkM. 718. 3. Only with the help of those original texts could we be in a position to establish the mistakes made in the textual transmission, which are numerous enough, and to correct them; the Book-Pahlavi texts in general are, indeed, copied more or less slovenly. **West** had certainly been able (SBE. 37) to translate all and everything; see, however, WZKM. 30. 23 f.

d) We have finally to point out the passage MhD. 13.

15, where we read:  *har*
2 *pa* × ? × *var varzišn*, i.e. "both have to deliver the *var*
pa × ? ×". It remains doubtful, how the transmitted graphical combination is to be read, and even more so, what its meaning is.

Should one take *pa* × ? × to be a nearer definition of *var*, like in *pa sōkand*, then it would be the nearest to read *tašt* (= Pers. *تاشت tašt*, i.e. "cup; bowl"). It is true, that the word is mostly (and quite correctly) spelt , yet in PV. there is also found, as a translation of the JAw. *tašta*,  PV. 5. 39 and  PV. 7. 73; see **Jamasp** Vend. 1. 289, note.¹ A cup is, in fact, used not only in connection with the sulphur-water *var*; see **West**, GIrPh. 2. 124 § 120. It must not, however, be disregarded that in the case discussed the *pa* × ? × **precedes** the word *var*, whilst, as a rule, the special definition always follows it with a connecting *i*. That seems to show, that the *pa* × ? × has to be explained in some other way.

1 **Sanjana**, Vend. 1. 83 133 offers in both PV. passages an impossible  (, which **Jamasp** Vend. 2. 225 chooses to read *tēšt*— thus even with *ē*!)

The wording of the whole *dāt, stān* MhD. 13. 13-15 is certainly considerably mutilated. Its contents are as follows: A registers a complaint against B and C, that is, according to the preceding context (see p. 28 on MhD. 13. 6-13) and to the remark "for the family" (see line 16), against a householder and his wife with the purpose of recovering a debt contracted by them conjointly. That

is expressed by the sentence: **ಸೆ ಕೂವೊ ನೊ ಸೊ**
.... **ಕು ಸ್ಮಾಕ ದುತಾಕ ರಾದ್ ಅಪಾಮ ಸ್ತಾತ.** I read instead

of **အ** *ku* rather **မိမိ**, with the pronominal affix of the 1st person after it, whereby the relation of the occurrence is established with respect to the plaintiff, and I

translate : 14 || རྒྱུ་བློ་གྲོས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པ་ལྟར་།
 . . . ka pēšēmār pa ē kart ēstēt ku-m . . . , i.e.

"when it has been asserted by the plaintiff:] "You have taken up with me a debt on behalf of your family". The

words which follow next: **اودے سکاؤ لہ ۱۱ کو اودے**

1. 15 are very much distorted. They contain, anyhow, the information that the defendants have denied it² and have appealed to the Court. After that something must have been omitted in the text. One would expect to find, that the decision had been made dependent on the taking of the oath (*dāt, stūn pa var*, see below p. 29), and that the two co-defendants, who deny having taken up the debt, are declared to be nearer to the oath than the plaintiff (*pa var pasēmār hač pēšēmār vēhdāt, stāntar*, see p. 30 f.). And then the dictum ends with:

[illegible]

1 Repeated twice in the Ms.

2 cf. for *md 91* p. 53 ff.

∴ 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. That ending is also (leaving alone the doubtful 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥) not quite in order. I read instead of the wholly incomprehensible 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 (see SLB. 26; WZKM. 27. 360; ZendHss. *35)¹ for preference 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *āpāmōmand*, i.e. "liable to pay the debt", a bill-term, instead of *tōžīšnōmand* "liable to pay (back)", see SL. 1. 49. Thus: *har 2 pa × ? × var varzišn u hakar var nē varzānd pa āpāmōmand dārišn*, i.e. "both have to deliver *pa × ? ×* the *var*, and if they do not deliver it, then they have to be considered as liable to pay the debt".

Should we now compare the *pa × ? × var varzišn* under discussion with MhD. 13. 2: *var pa nē ētōnīh varzišn*, MhD. 13. 5: *pa nē dān_{st} var varzīt*, and MhD. 13. 3: *var pa nē dānom varzišn*, (see for it p. 42 line 3 ff.), we would be tempted to admit that in that *pa × ? ×* a part of a sentence is contained, which might correspond in expression to one of the three negatory modes of expression: *pa nē ētōnīh*, "on the untruthfulness", *pa nē dān_{st}* "on the not-knowing" or *pa nē dānom* "on I do not know" (cf. p. 14), but which ought, however, to correspond to *pa nē ētōnīh* according to the sense in conformity with the state of things described, i.e. which ought to contain a denial of the assertion of the plaintiff. In that case, something more than a mere orthographical mistake would be contained therein.

Yet, such a supposition is most emphatically contradicted by the passage MhD. 5. 10, where the combination 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *pa × ? ×* is also found. With an unimportant correction I read the passage: 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

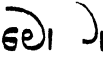

1 West's translation of 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 in SBE. 37, 55, DkM. 706, 14 by "powerless" is incomprehensible to me.

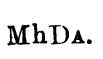
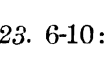

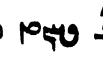







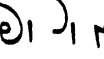


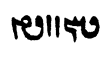


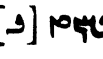
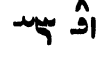
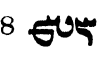


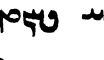
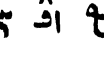
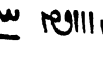
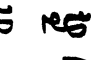
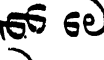
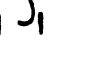


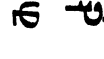
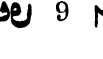
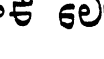
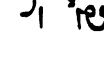
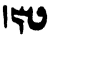




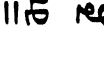
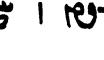


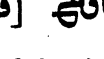
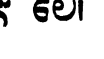
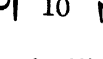



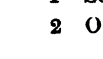
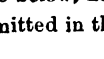
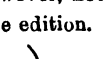
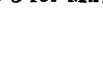
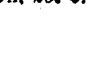



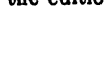

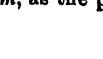
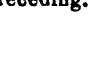









18 l. 14 and p. 21 l. 11 *supra*, "*pa x ? x*" is to be supplemented by: "on the bowl (with holy water)".

That instances of divine judgment as well could have been, and actually were, designated by the word *var*, and not exclusively the procedure of merely taking an oath, is proved beyond any possibility of doubt by evidence preserved in descriptions of such cases of *var* in other Middle-Persian books, see p. 8, line 1 f. It has to be further admitted, that for the judges, whose decisions and opinions have been preserved for us in the Sasanian Law-book, and for their time, the *var i pa sōkand*, the "*var* with sulphur-water", also meant something more than merely taking an oath, that it actually still had the meaning of divine judgment. And, finally, it is quite possible that in the Law-book the word *var*, even when accompanied by some particular additional definition (see p. 12 ff.), was meant to designate some kind of divine judgment. The conjecture, however, that certain particular forms of taking an oath accompanied by special symbolical concomitant actions were designated by the term *var*, is also admissible. I refer for it to **Jolly**, "*Recht und Sitte*", 144, regarding the various accessory actions accompanying the taking of an oath (*śapatha*-) in India, and again draw attention to the fact that the difference between the taking of an oath and the procedure of divine judgment is only one of degree. In any case, I have the impression that in all the passages of the Sasanian Law-book discussed above on pp. 12 ff. the exact meaning of the said passages is best of all expressed by rendering *var* by "oath".

Instances of *var* occurring in the Law-book in the sense of "oath" are fairly numerous. The more important are :

1. *var varzātan*.

It has already been mentioned on p. 8 that "to take an oath" is expressed by *var varzātan*; examples of it are: MhD. 6. 6; 13. 2, 3, 5, 8, 12, 15; 14. 2, 4, 5 f.; 76. 7; A. 19. 6; 23. 7, 8, 8, 9, 10, 10, 14; 27. 8. The passages 6. 6; 13. 2, 3, 15; 14. 2, 4, 6, have been translated and discussed above. From the other passages not very much can be gathered. In MhDA. 23. 7 ff. there stands six times  *var varzom*, 1. sing. pres.¹, and once  *var varzātan*, Inf. But the *var* plays a very secondary rôle in the passage; what the author of the Law-book has in view, is to point out that the wording of decisions regarding agreements had to be considered in every detail for, otherwise, there easily might have followed results other than those aimed at by the decision.

As an example of it we can quote the sentence MhDA. 23. 6-10:  *varzom* 7  *varzom* 8  *varzom* 9  *varzom* 10  *varzom* 11  *varzom* 12  *varzom* 13  *varzom* 14  *varzom* 15  *varzom* 16  *varzom* 17  *varzom* 18  *varzom* 19  *varzom* 20  *varzom* 21  *varzom* 22  *varzom* 23  *varzom* 24  *varzom* 25  *varzom* 26  *varzom* 27  *varzom* 28  *varzom* 29  *varzom* 30  *varzom* 31  *varzom* 32  *varzom* 33  *varzom* 34  *varzom* 35  *varzom* 36  *varzom* 37  *varzom* 38  *varzom* 39  *varzom* 40  *varzom* 41  *varzom* 42  *varzom* 43  *varzom* 44  *varzom* 45  *varzom* 46  *varzom* 47  *varzom* 48  *varzom* 49  *varzom* 50  *varzom* 51  *varzom* 52  *varzom* 53  *varzom* 54  *varzom* 55  *varzom* 56  *varzom* 57  *varzom* 58  *varzom* 59  *varzom* 60  *varzom* 61  *varzom* 62  *varzom* 63  *varzom* 64  *varzom* 65  *varzom* 66  *varzom* 67  *varzom* 68  *varzom* 69  *varzom* 70  *varzom* 71  *varzom* 72  *varzom* 73  *varzom* 74  *varzom* 75  *varzom* 76 *varzom* 77 *varzom* 78 *varzom* 79 *varzom* 80 *varzom* 81 *varzom* 82 *varzom* 83 *varzom* 84 *varzom* 85 *varzom* 86 *varzom* 87 *varzom* 88 *varzom* 89 *varzom* 90 *varzom* 91 *varzom* 92 *varzom* 93 *varzom* 94 *varzom* 95 *varzom* 96 *varzom* 97 *varzom* 98 *varzom* 99 *varzom* 100 *varzom* 101 *varzom* 102 *varzom* 103 *varzom* 104 *varzom* 105 *varzom* 106 *varzom* 107 *varzom* 108 *varzom* 109 *varzom* 110 *varzom* 111 *varzom* 112 *varzom* 113 *varzom* 114 *varzom* 115 *varzom* 116 *varzom* 117 *varzom* 118 *varzom* 119 *varzom* 120 *varzom* 121 *varzom* 122 *varzom* 123 *varzom* 124 *varzom* 125 *varzom* 126 *varzom* 127 *varzom* 128 *varzom* 129 *varzom* 130 *varzom* 131 *varzom* 132 *varzom* 133 *varzom* 134 *varzom* 135 *varzom* 136 *varzom* 137 *varzom* 138 *varzom* 139 *varzom* 140 *varzom* 141 *varzom* 142 *varzom* 143 *varzom* 144 *varzom* 145 *varzom* 146 *varzom* 147 *varzom* 148 *varzom* 149 *varzom* 150 *varzom* 151 *varzom* 152 *varzom* 153 *varzom* 154 *varzom* 155 *varzom* 156 *varzom* 157 *varzom* 158 *varzom* 159 *varzom* 160 *varzom* 161 *varzom* 162 *varzom* 163 *varzom* 164 *varzom* 165 *varzom* 166 *varzom* 167 *varzom* 168 *varzom* 169 *varzom* 170 *varzom* 171 *varzom* 172 *varzom* 173 *varzom* 174 *varzom* 175 *varzom* 176 *varzom* 177 *varzom* 178 *varzom* 179 *varzom* 180 *varzom* 181 *varzom* 182 *varzom* 183 *varzom* 184 *varzom* 185 *varzom* 186 *varzom* 187 *varzom* 188 *varzom* 189 *varzom* 190 *varzom* 191 *varzom* 192 *varzom* 193 *varzom* 194 *varzom* 195 *varzom* 196 *varzom* 197 *varzom* 198 *varzom* 199 *varzom* 200 *varzom* 201 *varzom* 202 *varzom* 203 *varzom* 204 *varzom* 205 *varzom* 206 *varzom* 207 *varzom* 208 *varzom* 209 *varzom* 210 *varzom* 211 *varzom* 212 *varzom* 213 *varzom* 214 *varzom* 215 *varzom* 216 *varzom* 217 *varzom* 218 *varzom* 219 *varzom* 220 *varzom* 221 *varzom* 222 *varzom* 223 *varzom* 224 *varzom* 225 *varzom* 226 *varzom* 227 *varzom* 228 *varzom* 229 *varzom* 230 *varzom* 231 *varzom* 232 *varzom* 233 *varzom* 234 *varzom* 235 *varzom* 236 *varzom* 237 *varzom* 238 *varzom* 239 *varzom* 240 *varzom* 241 *varzom* 242 *varzom* 243 *varzom* 244 *varzom* 245 *varzom* 246 *varzom* 247 *varzom* 248 *varzom* 249 *varzom* 250 *varzom* 251 *varzom* 252 *varzom* 253 *varzom* 254 *varzom* 255 *varzom* 256

The two (very cleverly planned) instances illustrate each other :

MhDA. 23. 1-6 runs :
 1. *ka gōwēt ku tāk rētak* 2 *apurnāy ēn*
 2. *čič ō tō dahom yuttar bavēt čiyōn ka gōwēt ku tāk rētak*
 3. *purnāy* 3 *bavēt ēn čič ō tō dahom čē ka gōwēt ku tāk rētak*
 4. *apurnāy ēn čič* 4 *ō tō dahom adak-aš pa gyāk bē dahišn*
 5. *u-š hangām tāk rētak purnāy bavēt* 5 *x'ēš u-š pas nē x'ēš*
 6. *u ka gōwēt ku tāk rētak purnāy bavēt ō tō dahom* 6 *adak-*
 7. *aš pēš hač purnāyih i rētak bē dahišn u-š hamēvēn³ x'ēš;*
 8. *i.e. When he says: "As long as the boy 2 is not of age,*
 9. *[for so long] do I bestow that on thee", then that is not*
 10. *the same, as when he says: "Until the boy comes of age*

1. *ka gōwēt ku tāk rētak* 2 *apurnāy ēn*
 2. *čič ō tō dahom yuttar bavēt čiyōn ka gōwēt ku tāk rētak*
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 4. *apurnāy ēn čič* 4 *ō tō dahom adak-aš pa gyāk bē dahišn*
 5. *u-š hangām tāk rētak purnāy bavēt* 5 *x'ēš u-š pas nē x'ēš*
 6. *u ka gōwēt ku tāk rētak purnāy bavēt ō tō dahom* 6 *adak-*
 7. *aš pēš hač purnāyih i rētak bē dahišn u-š hamēvēn³ x'ēš;*
 8. *i.e. When he says: "As long as the boy 2 is not of age,*
 9. *[for so long] do I bestow that on thee", then that is not*
 10. *the same, as when he says: "Until the boy comes of age*

1 In the edition *ka gōwēt ku tāk rētak*.

2 In the edition *ka gōwēt ku tāk rētak*.

3 cf. for the reading, etc. WZKM. 27. 372, note 2.

decision then had to be reached by means of a *var*, that is to say, in general, by taking the oath. It was announced by the judge by the usual formula¹ *dāt.stān pa var*, i.e. "decision through oath!", which are used in the context of a sentence in the same manner as *pašt dāt x^vaš* (see SL. 1. 17 ff.), that is to say, in the sense of "decision through *var*"; cf. MhD. 6, 5 = 14, 1 (p. 3 f.); 13, 9. According to circumstances (see p. 13), a particular kind of *var* might be considered necessary and announced; 13, 9 bears *dāt.stān pa var i pa sōkand*, "decision through *var* with sulphur (-water)", and MhD. 14, 3 has: *dāt.stān bē var i pād nišān mat* "the decision has come to the *var* x ? xx ? x", see p. 13 f.

3. *pa var vēhdāt.stāntar*.

The judge has furthermore to find out and to decide, which of the two parties concerned has the priority for the decision through the *var* (the oath), which of the parties is to be considered as "nearer to proving by oath", as ΟΡΚΙΟΤΕΡΟΣ (according to the expression of the Gortynian tables): *pa var vēhdāt.stāntar*, "offering through the *var* the better decision"; cf. MhD. 6, 5 = 14, 1 (p. 3); 13, 7; 14, 10, 12, 15, 16. As a general rule, the defendant is considered to be nearer to proving, like in Greek law: "The right (of taking the oath) did generally belong to the defendant", see Ziebarth in Pauly's "Realenzyklop."², 5. 2081, and like in German law, see Schröder, "D. Rechtsgesch."³, 87, 373. cf. MhD. 6, 5 = 14, 1: *ka* (or *hakar*) *dāt.stān pa var pasēmār vēhdāt.stāntar*, see p. 3 f.; 14, 15; 13, 6 f.: *ka...pa var pasēmār hač pēšēmār vēhdāt.stāntar*, i.e. "when the defendant² has the preference before the plaintiff for the decision through the *var*". Only in special cases is the plaintiff

1 "certa verba" see p. 13, note 3, SL. 1. 52, note.

2 The party accused, see p. 38, line 28 ff.

considered *vēhdāt.stāntar*. Such a case is communicated

in MhD. 14. 7-10: [۱] ۱۰۰۰۰۰۰۰ ۱۰۰۰۰۰۰۰ ۱۰۰۰۰۰۰۰

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*ka dūtak sardār [u] katak bānūk pa tōžīšn hač dūtak
ō mart 1 [i] šahr 8 kartan apāy.stan x'astūk bavand
u x'astak pa tōžīšn bē ap.spārēnd u pas andar dūtak
9 pus ō purnāyih rasēt u apāk ōē kē x'astak dārēt
tōžīšn kartan nē apāy.stan patkārēt 10 u dāt.stān
rāyēnēt pa var pus vēhdāt.stāntar, i.e. "When the
head of the family and the mistress of the house
recognize¹ the obligation of effecting a payment from
the family [-estate]² to a countryman² and hand over
the money for the payment, and [when] then in the
family 9 the son comes of age³ and contests the*

1 Literally "si ... de pensionis ex familia ad civem quendam
... solvendae necessitate confitentes fiunt"; cf. DkM. 713, 20 and
SL. 1. 48, further MhD. 15. 2 ff. (p. 34).

2 See the remarks p. 35 under 2 and 3.

3 And, together with it, reaches business-capability; see,
SL. I. 4.

liability¹ towards the one who has the money in his possession 10 and intends a lawsuit²: then the son has the preference for the decision by the *var*". cf. below p. 33 under 1.

Of essentially similar contents with MhD. 14. 7 ff., but differing in the wording is the *dāt, stān* in MhD. 15. 12-14³; they supplement each other reciprocally; the latter is also noteworthy in so far as the conception of "nearer to proving" is expressed there differently from elsewhere. The text needs, indeed, many corrections; they, however, become partly obvious simply by comparison with MhD. 14. 7 ff. I read there: 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 [1] 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 [1] 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 [1] 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 14 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

ka sardār [u] katak bānūk pa tožšn i katak x'atāy x'astūk

1 And demands back the money received by him. Literally: "contests ... the non-obligation". We have here a Middle-Persian example of contamination in sentences having a negative sense. See Paul, "Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte" 170.

2 Literally: "works the legal decision"; see p. 66 f. under MhD. 6. 11-12.

3 The reason, why it was incorporated in another chapter, is not clear.

4 The Ms. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥; see p. 37, note 1.

5 Wanting in the Ms. (at the beginning of the line).

6 With two dots under the 𐭠. Has it to express the pronunciation *bē*? The dots cannot be considered as a sign of invalidation.

bavand [u] *pa tōžīšn x'āstak* 13 *hač dūtak bē ap.spā-rēnd* [u] *pus 1 i andar dūtak ō purnāyīh rasēt u ōē ke x'āstak* 14 *bē grift hamēmār bavēt pa pēšēmārīh dāt-stān xūp*, i.e. "When the chief of the family and the mistress of the house recognize the payment [-obligation] towards a [former] master of the house and disburse the money for the payment from the family-estate, and [when then] a son in the family comes of age and registers a complaint¹ against the one who has taken the money, then the decision lies better with the plaintiff's party".²

Remarks on MhD. 14. 7-10 (A) and 15, 12-14 (B).

1. **The legal case** is couched as follows: The natural detainer of the family-authority (*dūtak sardār*, in B merely *sardār*), that is the master of the house (*katak x'atūy*), has by some reason, for instance, through death, withdrawn from his position, and another one has been set up for the same, say, by virtue of an arrangement contained in the last will (as in Syriac Law, **Sachau**, *SyrRechtsb.* 3, 127)³. This one and the mistress of the house (*katak bānūk*) consider themselves under the obligation of settling the demand of payment made by an Iranian citizen (*mart i šahr*, see under 3), which had arisen on account of a legal transaction of the former detainer of the family-authority (وسى [د] وسى)

1 *hamēmār bavēt*: see for it p. 72.

2 Literally: "plaintiffship".

3 **Sachau** translates the Persian legal term *dāduq salār*, taken over into the Syriac translation through "**Hausoberhaupt**" in the text, and through "**Haushalter**" in the Index; see **Sachau**, o.c. 3. 127, 378.

Still, in the sentence MhD. 14, 10-12, immediately following upon MhD. 7 ff., it is again mentioned that, under certain circumstances in the supposed case, the defendant (who is in possession of the money) is nearer to proving than the complaining son. The transmitted text is certainly far from perfect. I read at a venture:

12 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥
 11 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥
 12 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *bē ka pēš*

dāt,warān x'astūk bavand u pasēmār 11 *x'astak pa vičir i dāt,warān bē grift pa ēn ku tōžišn bavēt pa var ōē kē x'astak bē* 12 *dārēt vēhdāt,štāntar ku pus, i.e. "But, when they recognize the obligation before the judges, and [when] the defendant 11 had taken the money with a juridical announcement⁵ with regard to it that it has to be considered as payment: then, the one who is in possession of the money has in the var the preference for decision before the son."*—Thus, the express recognition

1 Ms. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; see also p. 32, note 5.

2 Ms. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥.

3 Ms. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; cf. MhD. 14. 16 (with a similar text); 15. 4 (see p. 32, line 16).

4 Ms. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥.

5 The expression *pa vičir i dāt,warān*, which seems to me to have that meaning, is also to be found in MhD. 14, 14, 16. In MhD. 14, 14 we read: 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *dārīšn i pa vičir i dāt,warān bē pa ēvarīh apāč nē āwurišn, i.e. "possession with juridical record cannot be taken away except in the instance of the obviousness [of the case]"*.

5. The wording and the contents of the oath.

These also were fixed by the judge. If the defendant was considered nearer to proving, as usual, then in most cases the mere **denial** on oath of the statement, on which the claim of the plaintiff was founded, the assurance on oath of the **untruth** of what has been asserted by the plaintiff as a fact, its *nē ētōnīh*, i.e. its being not thus, its unreality, was sufficient. cf. MhD. 13, 2: *var pa nē ētōnīh varzišn*, "to deliver the *var* on it not being thus"; that *dāt, stān*, the beginning of which is lost with the preceding folio, deals with a claim raised against the son and the heirs on account of an outstanding debt of the parents (see p. 15, line 9f.); the assertion of a loan having been granted (and of the resulting indebtedness) is repudiated by the *var pa nē ētōnīh*. Compare for the meaning and the use of *nē ētōnīh* also MhD. 6, 4, at the bottom of p. 3.


In the special often discussed case, when the plaintiff demands from the defendant the return of a thing, which is his property, but is unlawfully detained in his possession by the latter (cf., e.g., MhD. 14, 3, see p. 13, note 3), the place of the *var pa nē ētōnīh*, as in MhD. 6, 5 f., 14, 5 f. (s. pp. 3-5) is taken by the *var pa nē x'ēšīh*, "the oath on the non-belonging", viz. of the thing to the plaintiff; the formula for it is traced in MhD. 14, 4: *ka var ētōn varzēt ku nē tō x'ēš* and 14, 6: *ka var ētōn varzēt ku āturfarnbay x'ēš nē būt*; v. supra, p. 3 f.

When the complaint comprised a series of statements essentially interdependent, then, according to the judgment of the judge, the denial on oath by the plaintiff of the statement decisive for the justification of the claim and forming the basis of the other statements (as far as the other statements dependent on it were thereby also denied), was considered sufficient. The oath thus

taken was then *bavandak*, i.e. "satisfactory, sufficient"; see line 19 ff.

The case is expounded in MhD. 6, 2-6 and 14. 5-7 (see for it pp. 3 and 4), where the plaintiff asserts that the thing, which he claims to be his property, had been first the property of A, and then became—directly or indirectly (through B, C, and so on)—his property; then it is sufficient, if the defendant denies on oath the ownership of A with regard to the thing: *var ēvāč pa nē xʷēših i āturfarnbay* (i.e. A) *varzišn* MhD. 6, 5 f.; *ka var ētōn varzēt ku āturfarnbay* (i.e. A) *xʷēš nē būt var bavandak* MhD. 14, 6 f.

This simplification of the proceedings in favour of the defendant is, to be sure, not designated as universally valid and recognized; it only expresses, it is said, the opinion of certain lawyers; but amongst them *Vahrām* is also named, and he is, in any case, one of the most distinguished Sasanian lawyers.

var bavandak: I have translated it in MhD. 14, 7 (p. 6) and 14, 5 (p. 14): "the oath is sufficient". No satisfactory meaning can be reached by the usual rendering of *bavandak* as "perfect". For my translation I am able to refer: (1) to the meaning of the Arm. loan-word *bavandak* (and the related verb *bavel*), see the literature in **Hübschmann's** IFAnz. 10, 36; and, moreover, (2) to some further passages in the Law-book itself: MhD. 60, 11, 12, 15 (twice). The last mentioned passages deal with the case of an obligation to accomplish certain acts, viz. payments (*tōžišn*) from certain sources, in connexion with which the question is raised, what is to happen, if these sources prove to be insufficient; that is expressed by:  *pa tōžišn nē bavandak*. Unfortunately the text of the dictum MhD. 60, 10-16, is

transmitted all too spuriously to enable us to translate it in its whole in any satisfactory manner.

Under special circumstances an oath on the "not-knowing" can be taken; cf. MhD. 13, 3: *var pa nē dānom varzišn*; 13, 5: *ka-šān pa nē dān_{st} var varzīt būt*; see p. 14. Such an oath was, of course, only then permissible, when the person sworn was not directly connected with the questionable incidents which constituted the foundation of the claim. Thus, for instance, when after the death of the testator a complaint was raised on account of some debts left unsettled against the heir, who was not of age at the time when these debts were contracted. cf. MhD. 13, 2 f., according to which in such a lawsuit the defendant was entitled to take the oath on "the untruth" (*nē ētōnīh*), but also on the "not-knowing" (*nē dān_{st}*); see pp. 20, 40. It was expected beforehand that in such a case, in order to be able to close the proceedings, contrary to the generally entertained custom, the **plaintiff** was declared to be "nearer to proving" (*vēhdād_{st}āntar*, p. 30 ff.), similarly to what used to happen in the Greek and the Ancient-German legal procedure; see **Ziebarth**, o.c. 2082 and **vAmira**, Grdr GermR.³ 273.

In fact, there follows in MhD. 13, 3: *pas pēšēmār pa ēvarīh paδtākēnišn*. That would be literally: "hereafter the plaintiff has to announce **through** (?) certainty." But the preposition *pa*, i.e. "through, for, etc." cannot be fitted into the context, and, if it is connected with *ēvarīh*, as I did above, then the object in the sentence is wanting. If the *pa* is omitted, then we get the meaning: "hereafter the plaintiff has to announce the certainty

i.e. of his description of the case". Yet, the *pa* is there (and it happens far more often that the copyists omit words, than they should add any), and, on the other hand, the information is lacking as to how or whereby the certainty had to be established. I should like to

admit that between 𐭯𐭥 *pa* and 𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ēvarīh* the word 𐭥 *var* had fallen out. Then we arrive at the meaning of the dictum: "hereafter the plaintiff has to establish the certainty through oath". This, it seems to me, fits perfectly well. The deviation of the scribe from the first combination 𐭥 *var* to the second 𐭥𐭥𐭥 *ēvarīh* is quite comprehensible.

When the *var* was accomplished in wording and contents according to the orders of the judge and in conformity with other regulations regarding the different kinds of *var* (all that under the supervision of the *var sardār*, see 6), then the judge, who until then might have been in doubt (*varōmand*) with regard to the decision in weighing the proofs (*nikīrišn*), because of the contradictory statements by the parties, was sure (*ēvar*, see MhDA. 27, 8)¹, to be able to decide correctly upon the case, and it was therefore his duty to pass his sentence.

6. *var sardār*.

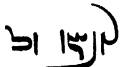
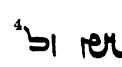
The charge of the entire *var*-procedure, with due care that it should be fulfilled in all its parts in the prescribed forms, was entrusted to a special court-official, who bore the title of 𐭥𐭥𐭥 *var sardār*, i.e. literally "detrainer of the authority of the *var*"; see MhDA. 27, 7

¹ *ēvar* is used like our "sure" or "certain" in a double sense, passive and active.

pātīrān is proved by these passages—I doubt it, and refer to p. 48, line 11 ff.—still, it is certain that it also has other meanings.

In Šv. 16, 26 and 41 we find the words *pātīrānīhēt* and *pātīrān kartārīh*.¹ **Neryosang** explains them through Skr. *pratīskhalyate* and *skhalanakāritā*, whilst **West**, SBE. 24. 245 f. translates them “is exhausted” and “exhaustion”. What **Neryosang** means to imply by his translation is not quite clear to me; but **West**’s translation is certainly erroneous. Neither has **Salemann**, *MémAcPét.* 8. 6 (1904). 6. 12 f. rendered correctly the sense of these passages. That controversial representation of the teaching of *Mānī* is concerned with the endeavours of the Spirit of the Darkness **to keep fast (and back)** the kidnapped particles of light in the bodies of the living beings through an uninterrupted reproduction, “in order, that the separation” should last longer”—as opposed to the endeavours of the sun and the moon to draw to themselves those particles of light in order to restore them to the abode of the Highest Light;—see for it M. 470 in FWK **Müller**, *HssReste*, 19 f.; **Flügel**, “Mani”, 89 f., 249.³



The same meaning holds good for the passage DkM. 343. 6, which deals with the fetters imposed on the neck of every man when he is begotten; see **Freimann**, *WZKM.* 20. 263. From the neck of the righteous these fetters shall fall off at their death, but not so in the case

of the impious:  ⁴ 

1 In Avestan characters (Pāzand).

2 Of light and darkness.

3 “The light (had) by the means of continuous procreation to be more and more **conjured away**”; see below p. 49, line 2.

4  is the ideogram for . It could also be read *ō* “that one”, but *ān* is in similar instances as here the far more familiar pronoun.

nēnd); **Nēryosang** renders the one through *rakṣanti*,¹ the other (similar to Šv. 16. 26, see p. 46, line 4 ff.) through *pratiskhalanti*; the Pers. translation offers for both the verbs alike دور کردن *dūr kardan* "to remove, to keep away".* I think, we shall not make a mistake, if we apply to *pātirānēnītan* or *pātirān kartan* quite similar meanings, as those, which express the AI. ¹*pā(i)-* (see AirWb. 885), proceeding, indeed, from the original meaning "**retinere**". This holds good for the words in PV. 18. 63—cf. the translation of the Avesta-text by **Wolff**, "Avesta", 424²—, for the combination *pātirān šusr* (see for it p. 45, note 2), i.e. "one whose sperm is retained",³

* The meaning "to keep away" ("fern halten") is somewhat inexact in application to the verb دور کردن.—*Note by the Translator.*

1 I have pointed out in ZendHss. 245, that the AI. verb *rākṣati* "he protects" (Gr. ἀλῆξω), which had not been identified in Iranian, is actually to be found in the Rivāyāt. I avail myself of the opportunity of drawing attention to Šn. 138. ۱۷۵; there the word رخشنده *raxšanda* also means "protecting". The usual explanation of the word—that *raxšanda* would be standing instead of **rōxšanda* "shining"—is contradicted both by phonetics and the meaning itself of the passage: منست تو رخشنده گاه *nišim i tu raxšandagāh i manast*, i.e. thy nest is my place of protection (asylum).†

2 Compare with the translation by **Geldner**, SPreuss AW. 1903. 429, the parallelism between **tācām taxmanām* and **uxšeyitnam... vaxšā* ("currentium cursuum" — "crescentium ... crescentias").

3 "*clausus*" by **Maaler**, see **Heyne**, DWb.³ 3, 1202.

† There is no need of any intermediary **rōxšanda*; for the Pers. رخشنده, as a rule, **always** means "shining": رخشنده شمع و چراغ (Firdawsi); the passage quoted here: منست تو رخشنده گاه *nišim i tu raxšandagāh* is quite simply translated: "thy seat is a source of light for me".—*Note by the Translator.*

as well as for the passage DkM. 344. 2, where it can be quite well translated "banish". cf. for it p. 46, note 3.¹

In DkM. 711. 7 f. *pātīrānīh i var* does certainly not mean anything, but what it means in MhDA. 27, 8; yet here West's "cancelling" is quite impossible; I give for *pātīrānīh (i var)* the meaning "becoming aware of, paying attention to, supervising, watching over", corresponding to the third meaning accepted in AirWb. 885 for *2pā(y)-*, and I thus obtain for the first part of the passage in MhD. the translation: "The detainer of the authority of the *var* [is] to superintend [the procedure] of the *var* up to the delivery of the *var*". The word *var*, it is true, is taken here in a somewhat different sense, first as an expression for the totality of the *var*-procedure, for all the ritualistic actions, which were connected with the taking of the oath, and secondly for the oath itself. That *sardār* is used in the sense of "leader, overseer (or the like)", has nothing surprising in it; cf. Hübschmann, AGr. 235.

The *yazišn (i pa var)*, i.e. "praying, solemn recitation", which follows in the explanation of *var sardār*, most probably means "repeating" the oath² in a sing-song manner. The oath was read out to the person who was sworn and repeated by him. [An oath-formula of the more recent period referring to the purification-oath has been published in my ZendHss. 145 f.; further infor-

1 A few passages in MhD. with *pātīrān* and *pātīrānēntan*: A.s. 9-11; 14, 12 f.; 20, 5; 26, 16 are not yet quite clear for me. In the first passage there occurs twice *bar* (WZKM. 27. 372, note 1) *pātīrān kunīšn*.

2 *yazišn*, or *yaštān* would, thus, stand in a certain opposition to *gōwīšn*, or *gufīšn*, see p. 22, by which a simple oral statement before the court not couched in any solemn form, is designated.

hač — 𐭠𐭥𐭥 instead of 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 —, i.e. "after". Nothing of importance for the understanding of the meaning can be gathered from the passage. As a causative of the verb *raftan* "to go", *rāyēnītan* means literally "to put in motion" (or "to keep going"). In SLB. 35 I admitted, that by *var rāyēnišn* the "arrangement" of the *var* was meant, that is to say, the same thing, which is expressed in the Dēnkart by the verbs 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 *sāxtan*, 𐭠𐭥𐭥 *saxtan* or 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *pasāxtan*; see DkM. 710. 1; 771. 22; 743. 12; 771. 17. That I consider now to be quite doubtful. DkM. 711. 10 and 712. 14 deals with a demand, a request for a *var* — 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *var x'āstan* —, which is raised by the plaintiff or the defendant. *var rāyēnītan* may possibly express the same: **to urge on** the *var* (see SL. I, 29), to bring about, that the legal decision should be arrived at through the *var*.

[9. *var gāh*.

For the sake of completeness I also mention the expression: 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 "the place, the locality of the *var*", although it does not occur in the Law-book itself, yet in the Dēnkart abstracts from some juridical book are given DkM. 707. 8, containing that expression. We receive no nearer information as to the disposition of the place of the *var*. I suppose, however, that the mere fact of the existence of the term shows that the place, where the *var* was delivered, where the oath had to be taken, was arranged in some particular manner, although that arrangement might have consisted in nothing besides drawing a furrow encircling the *varīk* (see p. 12, line 18) and separating him from the other persons present

in the court, so that the mysterious powers, from which it was expected that they would destroy him in case of perjury, should not inflict any harm on those standing outside the circle, cf. *Spiegel*, *AwÜbers.* 2. LVI; that would quite agree with a similar custom among the German people; see *von Amira*, l.c. 271, with note. In the Iranian religious ceremonies such separation by furlows was also usual; see *AirWb.* 157, under *karša-*.]

2. *اود نیکریشن* *nikirišn* — I read thus instead of the transmitted *اود نیکریش*, which is certainly quite similar in shape, but entirely different as regards its meaning and origin,—it is the Nom. Act. of *اود نیکریتان* *nikirītan* “to contemplate, to observe, to examine, to investigate (etc.)” —with the old *k*; cf. the Pers. *نگریدن* *nigarīdan*—and is a term denoting the examination of what has been asserted by the parties during the proceedings, the weighing and considering of the material of evidence necessary for coming to a decision. It is true, that *nikirišn* is besides exemplified in the *MhD.* only in 78. 6 and 7; *nikirītan*, however, and, indeed, in the Infinitive form, is richly represented. [It is most peculiar that the word sometimes stands at the end of a dictum without any syntactical connection whatever with the preceding part of the sentence; thus, in any case, *MhD.* 15, 1¹ and 72, 12 (cf. *SL.* I. 12, line 20 ff.); it seems that this Infinitive is used in a similar sense, as *dāt, stān pa var*, see p. 29, that is to say, in the sense of “advance evidence! hearing of witnesses!”, as an order issued by the judge]. For the juridical meaning of *nikirišn* see also *PahlT.* ۱۳, 12 f.: *pāt, frās pa nikirišn kun*, “punish (only) on ground of n.”

1 The translation of the passage given in *SLB.*, 28, l.3 is wrong.

But that fits, at the utmost, only the passage in AVn. Whereas for all these three passages the meaning: "denying, having nothing to do with—(and the like)" would be the most appropriate. cf. Mx. 36, 13: $\overline{\text{𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹}}$ $\overline{\text{𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹}}$

١ ۱۲۱۶۳۱۱ ۱۲۱۶۳۱۱ ۱۲۱۶۳۱۱ ۱۲۱۶۳۱۱
 ۱۲۱۶۳۱۱ ۱۲۱۶۳۱۱ ۱۲۱۶۳۱۱ ۱۲۱۶۳۱۱
 u rixīrāy bavēt, i.e. "whoever spends something which he
 had taken as a deposit and [then] denies"²;—AVn. 56, 4:

דְּרַוַּנְדָאן קֵי-שָׁאן... פֶּא יַזַּטָאן ו דֵּן רִיבְרָי בֻּת חַנְד,
druvandān kē-šān...pa yazatān u dēn riṽrāy bût hand,
 i.e. "the impious, who...have nothing to do with God
 and religion."³ In Šv. 14, 80 the text is certainly
 mutilated; **West's** translation would have been impos-
 sible, even were his correction (see p. 56, note 4) appro-
 priate. In the first half of the sentence : אֲלֵךְ אֲסַפְּךָ . עֲמָ

∴ *u arāṣṭrādāḍu aṣ in gawāṣni* the 2nd and the 4th words connected by *u* “and” must have a similar meaning, and, indeed, such a one, as to make comprehensible their connection with the following preposition “**ex, ab**”. The concluding link of the fourth word has been transmitted incorrectly; I do not know, what to do with the Sanskrit translation *vyastācārah*. The sense of the words (in MPB.): *kē viṣṭrāy u apāc x ? x hač ēn gōwiṣn* is something to the effect of: “whoever does not wish to hear about that

¹ Or *patrist*; see WZKM. 25, 404.

2 That he has receivde the thing.

3 Cf. for it Pahl.T. ۱۲۶ ۱۳ f.: 𐭥𐭩𐭮𐭥 𐭤𐭣 𐭪𐭥𐭬𐭥 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥...
pa yazarān u dēn vimān mā barēt, i.e.....“ You must not become
doubtful about God and religion ”.

talk [of the heretics] and comports himself aversely with regard to it".¹

The construction of *viγīrāy*, as we learn from the examples, varies very much: in MhD. 95, 7 f. it is constructed with *rāδ*, in 83, 7 ff. (and AVn. 56, 4) with *pa*; finally, in MhD. 16, 14 ff. (and Šv. 14, 80), as well as MhD. 6, 11 f. (see below p. 66)—with *hač*. In the other passages *viγīrāy* is used without any preposition whatever.

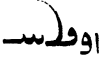
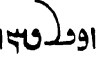
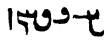
To conclude, a short remark for the justification of the transcription *viγīrāy*, with *v*- and *γ*-, proposed by me. The Avestan passage Yt. 13, 50 *kahe nō īda nāma āyairyāt* (AirWb. 512) is translated in the Strassburg Zend manuscript² p. 460 in the following manner: *kē amūk nām andar yazīšn āyīrīhāt*³, i.e. "by whom shall our name be greeted in prayer?" There is hardly any doubt that by *āyīr*^o, as a translation of the Avestan *āyairyāt* only *āyīr*^o, with a *γ* expressing the *āy*^o, can be meant. I correlate with that *āy*^o our *āy*^o. As, however, *āy*^o must be the counterpart of *āy*^o "to greet, to welcome", I read it *viγīr*^o, whereby I refer to the AI. *vivad-ati*, *vibrav-iti*, *vigāy-ati* and *vivāc-aḥ*, see **Delbrück**, AiS. 465 f. The reading *ni-γ*^o is excluded by the fact, that the Ms.

1 The whole dictum is not quite clear for me. I do not understand **West's** translation in SBE. 24, 228.

2 Purchased in 1909; **Harrassowitz**, list of second-hand books 321, (1909), No. 526.

3 A further example of a passive formation on *-īhāt* is to be found in **MiranM.** I. 12, note.

NFR''YT *niyarāyat*, in **Gauthiot's** Gr.Sogd. 64, 146, *nīy^orāy^ot*, has the same meaning: "to greet, to honour", as the verb composed with *ā*. The MS. verbal form is, above and besides, at the same time instructive for the final *-āy* of the MPB. word.

All this ultimately results in establishing that  *viyērāy*, contrary to  *nikīrišn* (see p. 52, line 9 ff.), contains the ancient *g*, as far as it belongs to the same category as the AI. *gr̥nā-ti*, *gūrtā-*, the Lat. "*grātus*", etc. The correlation of the meanings of JAW. *āyairyāt*, MPB. *āyīrīhāt*; MS. *niyarāyat*; and MPB. *viyērāy*, does find its counterpart in the analogous by its meaning verb **gāi-* "to sing"; see AI. *āgāyati* (*ā gāsi*, RV. 8, 27. 2); AI. *nigāyati*, MPT. *nigāyām* (for it also MPB.  *niyāyišn*¹); AI. *viḡāyati*; cf. the PW.

3. *ētōnīh*, "exactness":

is an abstract formation from *ētōn* "thus"—cf. for the form AI. *tathātvam*—, meaning literally "being thus", further, "actuality, exactness". The expression *ētōnīh i x'ēš* "the own exactness" stands in the pregnant sense for "the exactness of own things (*i.e.* statements)". Possibly, however, the original text MhD. 6, 4 f. might have run: *pa nē ētōnīh i ān hamāk čč ētōnīh i ān i x'ēš apāč apāyēt guftan*. For the meaning of *apāč guftan* I refer to Pers. باز گفت *bāz guftan*, "pronuntiare, palam facere".

A passive verbal formation from *ētōn* "thus"—or, rather, more correctly, a verbalisation of *ētōnīh*, see Bthl.

¹ See for it Bthl., ZendHss. 373 f.

WZKM. 29. 44 ft.—is *ētōnīhēt* “it is, it becomes being thus”, as much as “it comes true”; cf. *MiranM.* I. 38.

A corresponding formation is 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣^o 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥, most often ^o𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣, Part. Perf. Pass. (from the so-called **Passive**), derived from an adverb almost equivalent to *ētōn*, viz. 𐎠𐎡𐎢 *āngōn*¹ “in that way, thus”, which is often written 𐎠𐎡𐎢,—that is, *āngōnīhīt* [-*ak*].² The word can be often rendered through “such”. [According to the **Pazandists**, the word ought to be read *angōšītak*, and thus it is, in fact, although with certain misgivings, read by **Salemann**, *MémAcPét.* 8, 6. (1904), line 4. **West**, *SBE.* 37, 160 (and elsewhere) gives the transcription *āngunī-aitō*, having possibly understood it correctly].

1 Cf. *IndAnt.* 11. 229, line 11.

2 The correct spelling is found, for instance, in *DkM.* 17, 18.

V. MhD. 6, 6-9.

[On offering guaranties in the case of sale].

1 gyāk bē dast_owarān hač In the [book]
 "Dast_owarān" a
 passage is quoted:
 x'āstak ka 7 dast_owar ku¹ nipišt When the owner
 has sold a thing
 to somebody and
 that somebody³,
 to whom he has
 sold the thing is
 accused on ac-
 count of the
 thing in another
 place, then he⁵
 must absolutely
 go there, where
 a complaint has
 been raised⁷
 against him⁶ on
 account of the
 purchase, and the
 expenses for it
 [are to be met]
 by him from his
 own.

The transmitted text requires trifling **corrections** in three places. (1) In line 6 there comes after the

1 In the Ms. there follows **هم**.

2 Wanting in the MS.





3 The person, *kas*; cf. p. 70, note*.

4 Supplemented.



5 The owner; see p. 63.

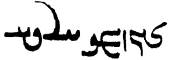


6 The buyer.

7 See below p. 71, under 2.


introductory sentence...*ku* a superfluous  *ka*, a word introducing in most cases the juridical decision; here the necessary *ka* stands (written, as often occurs¹, ) after *dast_{owar}*, which, being the logical subject both of the protasis **and** the apodosis, is placed before.—2. After  *ō kas* in line 7 the verb has fallen out, which cannot be anything but the same as in the relative sentence, namely *frōxt* “sold”; I have supplied it in the spelling, in which it appears there.—3. In line 8 the copyist has omitted between the two words with the same ending *xrītārīh* and *hamēmārīh* the word  *rād*, without disturbing the structure of the phrase.

For the transcription of isolated words the following may be said in explanation :



a) I consider  to be, certainly, an incorrect graphical variant of , i.e. *hat*, for which see *MiranM.* I. 50, note 2; as this mistake is extremely frequent I did not correct it².

b)  *xrītārīh*. The spelling of the word is noteworthy. The scribe had decomposed it into *xrīt* + *ārīh* and expressed, like in *MhD.* 7. 5, 6, *xrīt* by means of the verbal ideogram and the usual sign  or ; see *Bthl.*, *MiranM.* II. 22, note.

Linguistical and objective remarks.

1.  *dast_{owar}* :

The word very often recurs in the chapter from which our dictum is taken (*MhD.* 5, 3—8. 14), it bears,

1 Strictly correct would have been *ka-š* ( or  (i.e., “when by him”; yet, the encl. pronoun is in no wise necessary.

2 See also below p. 64, note 1, p. 69, note 3.

١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥
 ١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥
 ١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥
 ١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥ و١٥










u-š ēn-ē nipīšt ku ka farroḫ' i hač x ? x x'āstak 1 bē ō 6
mihryōn i hač kāzrōn frōart [u] pas mihryōn pa ān x'āstak
pēš kāzrōn dātawar hamēmār 7 būt farroḫ' nē pātawšāy
bē ka bē ō kāzrōn āyēt [u] pa dastawarīh andar ēstēt ; bē-š
patkārišn andar, būt kē guft ku pātawšāy ka nē āyēt, i.e.
 And by him² it is also written : " When a thing is sold
 by *Farroḫ'* from [the city] X to *Mihryōn* from [the city
 of] *Kāzrōn*, and afterwards *Mihryōn* is sued on account
 of that thing before the judge of *Kāzrōn*, then *Farroḫ'* has
 no other alternative but to go to *Kāzrōn* and to answer for
 his right of disposal [before the court]. There, certainly,
 exists a difference of opinion ; some [lawyers] have said :
 he needs not to go".

Our misgivings with regard to the contents of the
 dictum MhD. 6, 6 ff. are in so far not wholly unfounded,
 as the journey of the vendor requested by that dictum,
 (moreover at his own expense) for the purpose of giving
 evidence is not exacted by all lawyers. No information,
 however, is given as to how, in their opinion, the lawsuit
 intended against the buyer should be decided upon.



1 Ms. ١٥١٥ ; cf. above p. 62, under *a*.




2 Namely, by the lawyer *Vāyayāwar*, *Vāyayār* (١٥١٥
 liter. " the friend of *Vāy*", in **Justi's** NB., 497 below), who is men-
 tioned by name also before (5, 4) ; see also MhD. 23, 1 ; 31, 4 ; 54, 1 ;
 A. 7, 8 etc.

For the comprehension of the dictum MhD. 5, 5—8, I think it necessary to insert the following remarks :



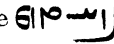
1.  and  : are two names of cities, the latter being *Kāzrōn* (کازرون *Kāzarūn*¹). The graphical combination  allows, of course, of a whole series of readings ; yet, I was unable to connect it with the name of any known city². The same name also occurs in MhD. 100, 9, 12; in the latter passage a    $\times ? \times$ *dātōwar*, i.e. judge from $\times ? \times$ corresponds to    *kāzrōn dātōwar*, i.e. the judge from


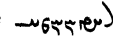
1 The author transcribes it "*Kāzrūn*", which is not quite exact : the name of that city is generally pronounced in Persian with a *fath* to the *z*, the popular etymology of the word being, that it is the Plural-form of کازر *kāzar* "a fuller" (کازرون instead of کازران *kāzārān*).—*Note by the Translator.*

2 In DkM. 517, 7, 8, 11; 583, 22; 584, 4; 745, 12, the word  means "a hollow in the ground, a hole in the earth, a cavity in the earth, a ditch", as opposed to  *cakāt* (DkM. 517, 8; 583, 22; 584, 1, 2, 6), i.e. "an elevation above the ground, a hillock, a hill" (West, SBE 37. 108 reads in DkM. 745, 12. *gōbar*, which is supposed to be the same as the Persian گور *gōr* "tomb". Most astonishing statements are made by Sanjana, DkS. 11b. 76, note). I read the word *duwr*, which I correlate with OCSL. *ǵubrǵ* "ravine"; see for it Berneker SlEtWb. 242. considering, that the Slav. word is also used as a name of a place, is it possible to read the MPB name of the city likewise *duwr*; yet, no city of that name is known to me.


In Šnš. 3. 12 a word  is also transmitted; the Munich-ZendMs. 51 punctuates it . West, SBE. 5. 279, reads here *dūbal*, with the translation "pail"; he certainly had in mind the Persian دول *dol* "pitcher"; but that word exists in MPB. in the shape ; see DkM. 404, 9, where it is used for the amphora in the ecliptic.

4. *bē-š patkārīšn andar*: That the opinions of Sasanian lawyers differed very frequently is seen almost on every page of the MhD. But the negative opinion is not presented anywhere else with so solemn an introduction.

The combination *hač dastavarān bē* is found, besides MhD. 6, 6, also in MhD. 13, 16; 76, 6 and 88, 6. In 28, 9 there stands *hač d° āngōn nipišt*; *bē* has been obviously omitted by mistake. We further read in MhD. 69, 16 *hač syāvaš bē*, 70, 13 *hač rātōhrmazd bē*, 67, 8 *hač syāvaš u rātōhrmazd bē*, 67, 15 *hač rāt¹ bē*, 98, 1 = A. 16, 14 f. *hač pusānvēh i āzātmartān bē*, and A. 9, 5 *hač vahrām-šāt² u rātōhrmazd bē*. The verb there is mostly *nipišt* "scriptum est", sometimes *guft³* "dictum est". *bē* cannot be considered as a mere verbal particle, because, except 69, 16, 70, 13 and 76, 6, where it stands before *nipišt* and 98, 1 = A. 16, 15, where it stands before *guft*, it is everywhere separated from the verb. Therefore, the *bē* must stand in connection with *hač*—and, indeed, there occurs  *bē hač*; see **Spiegel**, Einl. I. 147—, so that the combination *hač—bē*, with the noun depending from *hač* between the two, corresponds exactly and literally to the German *von—aus*.  *bē* is here the same word, which lies at the bottom of the MPB. superlative  *bētom*, MPT. BYDUM *bēdom* "extimus", see **Bthl.** Zum Air Wb. 50f. note, and which most often occurs in the

1 ; certainly an abbreviation of  *Rātōhrmazd*. *Rāt* does not otherwise occur in the MhD. *Rātōhrmazd* occurs frequently, see above line 10, 13 and p. 71, line 23 f. [In **Justi's** NB. the name is wanting].

2 cf. p. 70, note 1.

3 MhD. 88. 6, written, as often occurs, .

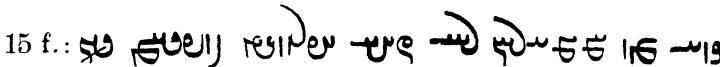
regard to the possessor (it is written)", which would fit most accurately the passage MhD. 6, 6—in *dar i dastawar*, see p. 63, line 1 ff. It would be inadmissible from the grammatical point of view to translate: "by the *dastawars* (those learned in writing) (it is written)". I, therefore, think, that *dastawarān* is the title of a collective juridical work, most probably being an abbreviation of a more extensive title. Only in that way can the *hač—bē* be understood to mean one and the same thing in all the passages quoted. Thus, *hač—bē* (*nīpišt*, *guft*) would be: "ex (auctore)...., ex (libello).... (scriptum, dictum est)", i.e. from (the author)...., from (the book).... is (quoted, cited, in writing, orally).

To confirm that opinion I may quote the following:
1. In MhD. 54, 1 there stands: *pa guft i vāyayāvar nīpišt*, i.e., as a saying, a sentence by *Vāyayāvar* (see p. 64, note 2) it is noted, quoted; and MhD. 55, 1 we similarly read: *pa guft i dastawarān nīpišt*.—2. MhD. 98, 1 = A. 16, 14 f. bears: *vahrām hač pusāncēh i āzātmartān hē guft*, i.e. by *Vahrām* it is quoted from *Pusāncēh i Āzātmartān*, and MhDA. 9, 5: *vahrām hač vahrāmšāt u rātōhrmazd bē ētōn guft*, i.e. by *Vahrām* the following is quoted from *Vahrāmšāt*¹ and *Rātōhrmazd*; *Vahrām* is obviously the author of some learned work regarding legal decisions, which has served as one of the principal sources to *Farrox* i *Vahrāmān*, the author of the MhD. for his compilatory work.

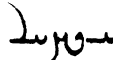
2. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 *hamēmār*: cf. for the transcription and the etymology (*ham-ēmār*) SL. I. 22, note. The word means,—as opposed to *pēšēmār* "the one who has the precedence of speech [before the court], that is, the plaintiff, and *pasēmār* "who has afterwards the word",

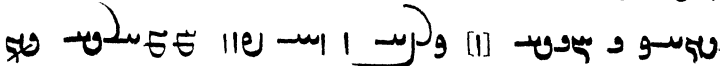
¹ A lawyer seldom quoted; see p. 70, note 1, and p. 69, ll. 12-13.

i.e. the defendant—: one who has the word [before the court] in turns with somebody else, one who interchanges the word, and may be applied, similarly to the Lat. *reus*, and O G. *sahlhāri*, not only to the defendant, but also to the plaintiff; *hamēmār* is everybody who has a lawsuit, is entangled in a lawsuit, no matter, whether intended by himself or another. Considering that the two persons having a lawsuit between them, are **opponents** in the lawsuit, the meaning of *hamēmār* might have gradually developed into the more ordinary meaning of “opponent, rival (etc.)”, as, for instance, in the proverb PahlT. ۱۷,

15 f.:  ۱۷ ۱۵ f.:

har kē hamēmārān rād cāh kanēt x'at andar *ōftēt*, *i.e.* “whoever digs a ditch for the opponents, falls himself in it”; or Mx. 37, 31; 51, 6; Šv. 10, 6, where

hamēmār is opposed to  *ayāwār* “friend”. The

reciprocity in the meaning of the word is well shown, for instance, in PahlT. ۷۷ 4 f.; it is true that there we are moving in an entirely different domain:  ۷۷ 4 f.:

nasāk pa gyāk i x'ēš [u] sag u vāy pa hamēmārīh andar nišīnēt, *i.e.* “the carrion [lies] in his stead, and dogs and birds are sitting thereby in a reciprocal quarrel [about it]”.

With reference to questions of the contest-proceedings, *hamēmār* (like the Lat. *reus*) is in general applied to the defendant. That does not require any proofs; proofs are needed only to show that the word also means the plaintiff.

INDICES

A. Passages.

LIST OF PASSAGES TRANSLATED AND DISCUSSED.

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DkM. 17.	18	60 note	718.	3	18, 54,
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344.	2	49	745.	12	65 note
404.	9	65 note	761.	18	17
454.	7	10	771.	17 22	51
517.	7, 8, 11,	65 note	790.	6 f.	12 note
583.	22	65 note	861.	16 f.	44
584.	1, 2, 4, 6	65 note		18	12 note
644.	16 ff.	9	893.	16 f.	8, 11 note
701.	16	6		22	12 note
704.	15	45	894.	1, 5, 8, 9	12 note
706.	14	20 note		2	17
706.	15	45	926.	14	12 note
	20	6	927.	2	12 note
707.	6	8	928.	12, 17	70 note
	8	51	MhD.	2. 11 f.	21
709.	15	8		15	14 note
	19 f.	17, 17 note		3. 7 f.	12 note
	21	12		4. 17	54 note
710.	1	51		5. 3 ff.	62
711.	7 f.	44, 49		4	64 note
	8 .	8		5 ff.	63 ff.
	9	7		9 f.	20 ff.
	10	51		6. 2 ff.	3, 41

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		5 f.	30f, 41
		6	24
		6 ff.	4 note, 61, 64f.
		8	73
		10	68
		11 f.	32 note, 58, 66
		12	53, 54 note
	7.	3 f.	68
		15 ff.	66
	8.	2	53
	10.	3	70
	13.	1	16
	13.	1 ff.	14
		2, 3, 5, 8,	} 21
		12, 15	
		2 f.	14, 42,
		3	20, 27, 42
		5	20, 27, 42,
		6 ff.	30, 38,
		8	29
		8 ff.	38
		9	13, 30
		10 f.	21
		12	27, 38,
		15 ff.	18
		14	53
		15	18, 22f.
		16	69
		16 ff.	4
14.		1	30,
		2 ff., 13 f.	22
		2, 4, 5 f.	24
		3	29
		4	40
		5 ff.	4, 40
		6	40
		7	41
		7 ff.	4 note 32 ff, 53
		10, 12, 15f.	30
		10 ff.	37

MhD.	14.	14, 16	37 note
		14 f.	37 note
		15	30
		16	37 note, 38
	15.	1	52
		2 ff, 31 note,	34
		12ff, 4 note,	32, 53
		14	37 note, 73
	16.	2	34
		14ff, 18, 34,	58
		15, 17	53
	23.	1	64 note
		9	24 note
	30.	7	73
	31.	4	64 note
	32.	12 f.	27
	34.	6	73
	54.	1	64 note
	55.	1	71
	60.	2, 6, 7	34
		7 f.	22, 35 note
		8	21
		10 ff.	41
		11, 12, 15	41
		16 f.	34
	61.	6	36 note
		9 f.	34
		11 f.	35
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	69.	16	69
	70.	13	69
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		7	24, 29
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		8	39
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	78.	6	52
		15 ff.	15
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I. PAHLAVI IN TRANSCRIPTION

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dātawar 12 note
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patīrīst, pat-grīst 57
pasēmār 71
pātan, pāyēt 47
pātīrān, 9ranīh 44 ff.
pātīrānēnītan 45
pešemār 71
bavandak 41 ff.
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nikūrišn 43, 52.
nikūritan 52.
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cartēnītan 66
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vīcūrt 45
vēh, vēhtar 36
vēhdāt, stāntar 19, 30, 42
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x'astūk 53
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Farro.r'zorrwān 14
Yucānyīm 70 note
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Vahrāmšāt 69, 71, 71 note
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frōttar dāt, war 12 note
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i dēnik 16 f.
i pa nāmak pasāč, 15
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hač ān bē 70 note
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hač dūtak 34
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x'astūk bavēt 54

PAHALVI IN ORIGINAL SCRIPT.

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *niyāyīšn* 59
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 14

𐭠𐭣 = *ān* 46 note
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *viyīrāy* 53 ff.
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *nikūrišn* 52 ff. 59 ff.
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 45
 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *duwr* 65 note
 𐭠𐭣, 𐭠𐭣𐭥 65 note
 𐭠𐭣𐭥, 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *āngōn* 60
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 60
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 44 note
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 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 20, 20 note
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *āyīrīhāt* 58
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *guft* 69 note
 𐭠𐭣𐭥 29 note
 𐭠𐭣𐭥 69
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THE HANUMANTHAPUR COPPER
PLATE GRANT OF ANANTA
VARMA SON OF DEVENDRA
VARMA

SRI SRI SRI LAKSHMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN
JAGADEB RAJAH BAHADUR,

Puratatwavisarad, Vidyavachaspathi,
Rajah Saheb of Tekkali.

A certain farmer, in Hanumanthapur village in Chicacole Taluk, while tilling his lands found a set of copper plates. I have secured them from him. The set contains three copper plates. The three plates have each a hole in the middle of the left side of the plate, through which a stout copper ring has been passed. At the joint of the two ends, there is a royal seal, the memorable seal of the Varman family of the Ganga Dynasty in Kalinga. The seal is like a lotus flower with four petals. On the top of the seal there is an ox in sitting posture and above the ox there is a conch shell. In the seventh century Kamarnava and five other princes of Ganga Dynasty who extended their sway over Kalinga, had come from Gangabadi. The eldest Kamarnava whose family assumed the royal dignity of Kalinga and took to themselves the title of Varman, administered an unrefuted Era during their reign. In the plate the names of Devendra Varman and his son Ananta Varman, who belonged to the said eldest family, are written. The mode of writing, the language and the titles of these kings, are striking proofs to denote that the inscription belongs to the Varman Dynasty. More so, as it was written from Kalinganagar, it is quite apparent that they were Kalinga kings, and Gokarneswar, at the top of Mahandra hill in the Ganjam District, was their family God. The unrefuted era of that dynasty, which was in

vogue systematically, was written in the plate as 300 years in the conquered country. The plate was written in the Sanskrit language but in the Brahmi script. Seven lines on the second side of the first plate, seven lines on the first side of the second plate, seven lines on the second side of the second plate, and eight lines on the first side of the third plate, had been inscribed. As there are no writings on the first side of the first plate and on the second side of the third plate, they serve as covers of the plates and so the writings in them are in good order. Chandicharan village was granted to Vishnu Bhatta, son of Harischandra Bhatta of Kaundinyasa Gotra. It is difficult to know the boundary and limits of the village gifted as they are written incorrectly. The plate was written by the minister and inscribed by one named Akhyasalinajaya. It is believed that as the inscriber was ignorant of the language, the whole text of the plate became incorrect. In other gifted plates, the exemplary slokas from Vyāsa-gita are also quoted.

Description of the plates : The plates are $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad. The diameter of the ring is 2.5 inches. The diameter of the royal seal is .85 inches. The three copper plates together with the ring are $26\frac{1}{2}$ tolas in weight. The copy of the text of the plates is quoted here in Devanagari characters for the information of the readers. As the language of the plates is incorrect to a large extent, the amended text also is published along with the original.

The original text of the plate

Second side of the first plate:—

१ ओं स्वस्तु ओ मर पुरानु कारिता शर्वर्तु सुखरम

२ णोयाव्विजयवत्त कलिङ्ग नगराधि वाशकामहे

३ न्द्रांचलामल सिखर प्रतिषि तशि सचरच

- ४ गुरो सकल भवन निर्म्मि ओनेक सूत
- ५ धारसि शसाङ्क चूड़ाणि भगव
- ६ तो गोकर्ण स्वमिन चरण कमल युगल
- ७ प्रणमद्विगत कलिकाल कलङ्का ओनेक

First side of the second plate:—

- १ हव सख भजनित जयसत्र पूतपवन
- २ तस मशत सामन्त शम चक्र चूड़ाणि प्रभम
- ३ झरि पूजरञ्जित वर चरणसित कुमुद
- ४ कुदेय्यवदात यसोध्वशत रतिकुलच
- ५ लानय विनयदय दानवख क्षेन्यसजि
- ६ दर्ज्य शतित्य गधिगुणसपदा धारभू
- ७ तो परम माहेश्वरो मातापित्र

Second side of the second plate:—

- १ पादानुध्यातो गङ्गा मल कुलतिलक महारा
- २ जश्री देव त्रिवर्म्म सून्म श्री ओनन्तवर्म्म
- ३ देवता उदक पूर्वकुत्वास्यर्ज्यत हे परता
- ४ सप्रदत—कण्डिल्यगोत्र हरिचन्द्रसू
- ५ नुविषभटण उपाजितं वाइ
- ६ भिणिचरणत्र म्शेरोककट भिनिद
- ७ हइ सवहल भुमिचतुराङ्कड

First side of the third plate:—

- १ सिलाङ्कित तट केन शहिता तनयव
- २ श प्रवध मानविग्र्ययो राजसवछरसत
- ३ तृणि ओवनाशाट८ लिखितमिदमनृभिरिश
- ४ मतेण! भङ्गोर्ण ओख साक्तिन नजेणा उह
- ५ ण भवं८ ! वातैदपि, दुभागिगिताभि शो भुवेति
- ६ यश्य यश्य यदाभुमितासितस्य तदाफलं, शदत
- ७ पर दाताम्बियेह रेतिवसुधरा सवित्तयकृमि
- ८ रिभुत्वा पितृभिशाह पच्यते

Corrected text

Second side of the first plate:—

- १ ओं स्वस्ति अमर पुरानु कारिण स्सर्व्वर्त्तु सुखरम-
- २ णीयाद्विजयवतः कलिङ्ग नराधिवासकान्महे-
- ३ न्द्रा चलामल शिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराचर
- ४ गुरो स्सकल भुवन निर्म्मणैक सूत्र
- ५ धारस्य शशाङ्क चूडामणेभगव-
- ६ तो गोकर्ण स्वामिनश्चरण कमल युगल
- ७ प्रणमाद्विगत कलिकाल कलङ्को नेका-

First side of the second plate:—

- १ हव संक्षोभ जनित जय शव्व पूतपावनि-
- २ त समस्त सामन्त चक्र चूडामणि प्रभाम-
- ३ झरी पुञ्जरजित वर चरिताशित कुमुद
- ४ कुन्देन्दूवदात यशोष्वस्ता राति कुलाच-
- ५ लो नयविनय दया दान दाक्षिण्य शौग्यौ-
- ६ दार्थ्य सत्य त्यागादि गुण सम्पदाधारभू-
- ७ तो परम माहेश्वरो मातापितृ

Second side of the second plate:—

- १ पादानुध्यातो गङ्गामल कुलतिलक महारा-
- २ ज श्री देवेन्द्र वर्म्म सूनु, श्री अनन्त वर्म्म
- ३ देवेन उदक पूर्वं कृत्वा सूर्य्यग्रहोपरागे
- ४ संप्रदत्तः । कैाण्डिन्यस गोत्र हरिचन्द्र सू-
- ५ नुविष्णु भट्टेण उपाजितं-
- ६ चण्डिचरण ग्रामोयं × × ×
- ७ × × × × × ×

First side of the third plate:—

- १ × × × × × गंगवं-
- २ श प्रवर्धमान विजयराज्य सम्बत्सरशत
- ३ त्रिंशति × × × लिखितमिद मंत्रिभिरोक्ष-
- ४ म्मतेन । उत्कोर्णे अक्षशालिन जयेन

THE HANUMANTHAPUR COPPER PLATE GRANT

- ५ वह्निर्व्वसुधादत्ता राजभिस्समरादिभिः
- ६ यस्य यस्य यदाभूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदाफलं, स्वदत्तां
- ७ परदत्ताम्बा योहरेत वसुंधरां । सविश्यां कृमि-
- ८ भू त्वा पितृभिस्सह पच्यते ॥

Brief translation

From prosperous beautifies by all weather like the heaven and victorious Kalinga city by the worship of the lotus feet of Chandrachudâmani, God Gokarneswara, situated on the graceful peaks of Mahandragiri, the cause of Creation of the whole Universe, movables and immovables, sinless, victorious in many fights, revered by all vassals, adorned with stainless renown, destroyer of enemy, adorned with very many good qualities, like Justice Sevaite, a devotee of parents, offspring of Ganga Dynasty, Maharaja Sri Devendra Varma's son, Sri Ananta Varma gifted Chandicharan the village, on the solar eclipse day, obtained by Vishnu Bhatta, son of Harischandra Bhatta of Kaundinyasa Gotra. At that time, the Vijaya Era that was in vogue in Ganga Dynasty was three hundred years. That was written by the minister with the approval of the Rajah. It was inscribed by Akhyasolinajaya. Vyâsagitâ gives proof to it.

MAS'UDI'S ACCOUNT OF THE PESDADIAN KINGS

By

THE LATE DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, KT., LL.D.

I

INTRODUCTION

The object of this paper is to give an account of
king Kayômars and his successors in
Introduction the Pêsdâdian dynasty of Persia, as
narrated by Mas'ûdî in his 'Kitâb-i Murûj az-Zahab
va Ma'âdin al-Jauhar,' كتاب مروج الذهب و معادن الجواهر,
i. e., "the Book of the Meadows of Gold and the Mines
of Jewels." In my references and version, I follow the
text and the French translation of the work by C.
Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (1861-1877).

It is in the twenty-first chapter of his work that
Mas'ûdî's chap- Mas'ûdî first speaks of Zarathustra at
ter on the kings some length. The chapter is headed:
of Persia "An account of the first kings of
Persia. A résumé of their history and of their rule,"
ذكر ملوك الفرس الاولى و جل اخبارهم و سيرهم.
Mas'ûdî speaks,
in the very beginning of this chapter, about the custom
of the Persians to preserve their genealogy.

I first give the full text of Mas'ûdî, then my
translation based on the French version of Barbier de
Meynard and Pavet de Courteille. I will also add some
observations of mine on Mas'ûdî's text.

II

MAS'UDI'S TEXT

ذكر ملوك الفرس الاولى وجل اخبارهم وسيرهم

قال المسعودى الفرس نخبر مع اختلاف ارائها و بعد اوطانها
و تباينها فى ديارها وما الزمتها انفسها من حفظ انسابها ينقل
ذلك باق عن ماضٍ وصغير عن كبير ان اول ملوكهم كيومرث
ثم تنازعوا فيه فمنهم من زعم انه ابن آدم وهو الاكبر من
ولده و منهم من زعم و هم الاقلون عددا انه اصل النسل
و ينبوع الذرء وقد ذهبت طائفة منهم ان كيومرث هو
أميم بن لاود بن ارم بن سام بن نوح لان اميا هو اول من
حل بفارس من ولد نوح وكان كيومرث ينزل بفارس والفرس
لا تعرف طوفان نوح والقوم الذين كانوا بين آدم و نوح
عليهما السلام كانت لسانهم سريانيا ولم يكن عليهم ملك
بل كانوا فى مسكن واحد والله اعلم بذلك وكان كيومرث اكبر
اهل عصره والمقدم فيهم وكان السبب الذى دعا اهل ذلك
العصر الى اقامة ملك و نصب رئيس انهم رأوا اكثر الناس قد
جبلوا على التباغى والحسد والظلم والعدوان ورأوا فيهم
الشرير لا يصلحه الا الرهبة ثم تاملوا احوال الخليفة و تصرف
شأن الجسم و صور الانسان الحساس الدراك فرأوا الجسم فى بنيته
و كونه قد رتب بحواس تودى الى معنى هو غيرها يوردها

و يصدرها ويميّزها تورده اليه مع اختلافها في مداركها وهو
معنى في القلب فرأوا صلاح الجسم بتدبيره فتى فسد مدبره
فسد سائرهم ولم تظهر افعاله المتقنة المحكمة فلما رأت هذا
العالم الصغير الذى هو جسد الانسان المردى لا تستقيم
اموره ولا تنتظم احواله الا باستقامة الرئيس الذى قدمنا
ذكره وعلموا ان الناس لا يستقيمون الا بملك ينصفهم
و يوجب العدل فيهم و ينقذ الاحكام على حسب ما يوجبه
العقل بينهم فساروا الى كيومرث بن لاود وعرفوه بحاجتهم
الى ملك و قيم يعدل فيهم و قالوا انت افضلنا واشرفنا و كبرنا
و بقية ايينا وليس فى العصر من يوازيك فاضمم امرنا اليك وكن
القائم فينا فاما نسمعك و نطيعك و نجيبك الى كل ما نراه
فاجابهم الى ما دعوه اليه و استوثق منهم بتأكيد العهد
والمواثيق على السمع والطاعة وترك الخلاف عليه فلما وضع
التاج على رأسه وكان اول من رتب التاج على رأسه من اهل
الارض قام خطيبا و قال ان النعم لا تدوم الا بالشكر وانا نحمد
الله على اياديه ونشكره على نعمه و نرغب اليه في مزيده
و نسئله المعونة على ما دفعنا اليه و حسن الهداية الى العقل
الذى يجمع الشمل ويصفي العيش فثقوا بالعدل منا و انصفوا
من انفسكم نوردكم الى افضل ما في همتكم و استغفر الله لى
ولكم فلم يزل كيومرث قائما بالامر في حسن السيرة يحكم الناس

بالعدل والبلاد آمنة والامة ساكنة طول مدته ولهم في وضع
التاج على الراس اسرار يذكرونها اعرضنا عن ذكرها اذ كنا
قد اتينا على ذلك في كتابنا اخبار الزمان والاوسط وذكروا ان
كيمورث هو اول من امر بالسكون عند الطعام لتأخذ الطبيعة
بقسطها فيصلح البدن بما يرد اليه من الغذاء وتسكن النفس
عند ذلك فتدبر لكل عضو من الاعضاء تدبيرا يودى الى ما
فيه صلاح الجسم من اخذ صفو الطعام فيكون الذي يرد الى
الكبد وغيره من الاعضاء القابلة للغذاء ما يناسبها وما فيه
صلاحها وان الانسان متى شغل عن طعامه بضرب من
الضروب انصرف قسط من التدبير وجزء من التغذى الى
حيث انصباب الهمة ووقوع الاشتراك فاضر ذلك بالنفس
الحيوانية والقوى الانسانية و اذا كان ذلك دائما ادى ذلك الى
مفارقة النفس الناطقة المميّزة الفكرية لهذا الجسد المردى وفي
ذلك ترك الحكمة وخروج عن الصواب ولهم في هذا الباب سرّ
لطيف من اسرار السبب الذي بين النفس والجسم ليس هذا
الكتاب موضعا لها وقد اتينا على ذكرها في كتابنا سرّ الحياة وفي
كتاب الزلف عند ذكرنا للنفس الناطقة والنفس الغضبية
والنفس الحسية والنفس الشهوانية وما قال الناس في ذلك
من تقدّم وتأخّر من الفلاسفة وغيرهم وقد تنوزع في مقدار
عمر كيمورث فمن الناس من رأى ان عمره كان الف سنة وقيل

دون ذلك و للمجوس في كيومرث خطب طويل في انه مبدأ
النسل و انه نبت مثل نبات الارض وهو الرياس هو و زوجته
و هما شابه و منشابه وغير ذلك مما يفحش ابراده وما كان من
خبره مع ابليس و قتاله اياه و كان ينزل اصطرخ فارس و كان
ملكه اربعين سنة و قيل اقل من ذلك ثم ملك بعده اوشهنيج
بن فروال بن سيامك بن يرنيق بن كيومرث الملك و كان
لوشهنيج ينزل الهند و كان ملكه اربعين سنة و قيل اقل من
ذلك و قد تنوزع فيه فمنهم من رأى انه اخ لكيومرث بن آدم
و منهم من رأى انه ولد الملك الماضي ثم ملك بعده طهمورث
ابن نوبجهمان بن ارفخشذ بن اوشهنيج و كان ينزل سابور و ظهر
في سنة من ملكه رجل يقال له بوداسف احدث مذهب
الصايبية و قيل فيهم ان معالي الشرف الكامل و الصلاح الشامل
و معدن الحياة في هذا السقف المرفوع و ان الكواكب هي
المدبرات و الواردات و الصادرات و هي التي في بروزها من افلاكها
و قطعها مسافات و اتصالها بنقطة و انفصالها على نقطة سبب
ما يكون في العالم من الآثار من امتداد الاعمار و قصرها و تركيب
البسائط و انبساط المركبات و تميم الصور و ظهور المياه و غيضاها
و في النجوم السيارة و في افلاكها التدبير الاعظم و غير ذلك
عما يخرج وصفه عن حد الاختصار و الايجاز فاجتذب جماعة
من ذوي الضعف في الآراء فيقال ان هذا الرجل اول من اظهر

مذهب الصاوية من الحرائين والكيمايين وهذا النوع من الصاوية مباينون للحرائين في نحلتهن وديارهم بين بلاد واسط والبصرة من ارض العراق نحو البطائح والاجام فكان ملك طهمورث الى ان هلك ثلثين سنة وقيل غير ذلك ثم ملك اخوه جم وكان ينزل بفارس وقيل انه كان في زمانه طوفان وذهب كثير من الناس ان النيروز في زمانه احدث وفي ملكه رسم على حسب ما نوره فيما يرد من هذا الكتاب كذلك ذكر ابو عبيدة معمر بن المثنى عن عمر المعروف بكسرى وكان هذا الرجل ممن اشتهر بعلم فارس و اخبار ملوكها حتى لقب بعمر كسرى فكان ملك جم الى ان هلك ست مائة سنة وقيل سبعماية سنة وستة اشهر وحدث في الارض انواعا من الصنائع والابنية والمهن وادعى الربوبية ثم ملك بعده بيوراسب بن ارواسب بن ريدوان بن هاباس بن طاح بن فروال بن سيامك بن برس بن كيومرث وهو الدهاك وقد عربت اسماءه جميعا فسماء قوم من العرب الضحاك وسماء قوم بهراسف وليس هو كذلك واما هو على ما وصفنا بيوراسب وصح في التاريخ ان جم الملك من قبل هؤلاء قتل وقد تنوزع في نسبه فمن الناس من يقول انه من الفرس ومنهم من قال انه من العرب وزعمت الفرس انه منها وانه كان ساحرا وانه ملك الاقاليم السبعة و ان ملكه كان الف سنة وبنى في الارض وتمرد

والفرس فيه حديث طويل وتزعم انه مقيّد مغلّل بالحديد
 فى جبل دُنباوند بين الرى وطبرستان وقد ذكرته شعر آء
 العرب من تقدم وتأخرو قد افترابو نواس به و زعم انه
 من اليمن لان ابا نواس مولى لسعد العشيرة من اليمن فقال

وكان منا الضحاك يعبدہ الحائل والوحش فى مساربها
 ثم ملك بعده افريدون بن انقياد بن جم ملك الاقاليم السبعة
 واخذ بيوراسب فقيدہ فى جبل دُنباوند على حسب ما ذكرنا
 وقد ذهب كثير من الفرس و من عنى باخبارهم مثل عمر كسرى
 وغيره ان افريدون جعل هذا اليوم الذى قيّد فيه الضحاك
 عيداً له وسماء المهرجان على حسب ما نوره بعد هذا
 الموضع من هذا الكتاب وما قيل فى ذلك وكان دارمملكة افريدون
 بابل وهذا الاقليم مضاف الى قرية من قرى هذه الاقاليم يقال
 لها بابل على شاطئ نهر من انهار الفرات بارض العراق على ساعة
 من المدينة المعروفة بجسر بابل و نهر الفرس و اليه تضاف الثياب
 النرسية وفى هذه القرية جبّ يعرف بجبّ دانيال النبي عمّ
 يقصده النصارى واليهود فى اوقات من السنة فى اعياد لهم
 واذا مرّ الانسان على هذه القرية تبين له فيها اثار عظيمة من
 ردوم وهدم و بنيان قد صارت كالروابي و ذهب كثير من الناس
 الى ان بها هاروت و ماروت وهما الملكان المذكوران فى القرآن على
 ب ما اقتض الله تعالى من تسمية هذه القرية ببابل فكان

ملك افريدون خمسمائة سنة وقيل اقل من ذلك واكثر وقسم
الارض بين ولده الثلاثة وقد قال فى ذلك بعض الشعراء بمن
سلف من ابناء الفرس بعد الاسلام يذكر ولد افريدون
الثلاثة

وقسمنا ملكنا فى دهرنا قسمة اللحم على ظهر الوض
فجعلنا الشام والروم الى مغرب الى شمس العطريف سلم
ولطوح جعل الترك له فبلاد الترك بحوبها برغم
ولايران جعلنا عنوة فارس الملك وفزنا بالنعيم

والناس فيها ذكرنا خطب طويل و ان بلاد بابل اضيفت الى
ولد افريدون وهو ايرج وقتله اخوه فى حياة افريدون
وهلك ولم يخلص له الملك فيعد فى الملوك وسندكر فيها يرد
من هذا الكتاب كيفية اضافة هذا الاقليم الى ايرج واسقاطهم
الجيم وجعلهم النون بدلا منها فيقال ايران شهر والشهر
الملك ثم ملك بعد افريدون منوشهر بن ايران بن افريدون
على حسب ما ذكرنا من التنازع فى نسبه و الحاقه بايرج بن
افريدون و كان ملكه عشرين سنة و كان ينزل ببابل وقيل ان
فى زمانه كان موسى بن عمران و يوشع بن نون عليهما السلام
وكان لمنوشهر حروب مع عتبه اللذان قتلا ابا و هما طوح وسلم
و قد اتينا على ذكر حروبهم فيها سلف من كتبنا ثم ملك بعد
منوشهر سهر بن اهان بن انقياد بن نوذر بن منوشهر فنزل

بابل و ملك ستين سنة و قتل اكثر من ذلك و كانت له حروب
 كثيرة و سير و سياسات كثيرة قد اتينا على ذكرها في كتاب
 اخبار الزمان ثم ملك بعده فراسياب بن باسير بن راي ارسن
 بن يورك بن سانياسب بن رسسب بن نوح بن دور شربين
 بن طوح بن افريدون و كان مولد فراسياب ببلاد الترك
 فلذلك غلط من غلط من اصحاب الكتب و التصنيفات في التاريخ
 وغيره فزعم انه تركي و كان ملكه على ما غلب عليه من البلاد
 اثني عشر سنة و عمره عند كثير من الناس اربعماية سنة و في
 اثني عشر سنة خلت من ملكه ظهر عليه زو بن بهاسف بن
 كجهور بن هراسف بن رايدنج بن رع بن باسير بن نوذر بن
 منوشهر الملك فهزمه و قتل اصحابه بعد حروب كثيرة و عمر
 ما خربه فراسياب و كيفية قتله و حروبه و ما كان بين الفرس
 و الترك من الحروب والغارات و ما كان من قتل سياوخس و خبر
 رسم بن دستان فهذا كله موجود مشروح في الكتاب المترجم
 بكتاب السكيسران ترجمه ابن المقفع من الفارسية الاولى الى
 العربية و فيه خبر اسفنديار بن بستاسف بن بهراسف و قتل
 رسم بن دستان له و ما كان من قتل بهمن بن اسفنديار لرسم
 وغير ذلك من عجائب الفرس الاولى و اخبارها و هذا كتاب
 تعظمه الفرس لما قد تضمن خبر اسلافهم و سير ملوكهم
 وقد اتينا بحمد الله على كثير من اخبارهم فيما سلف من كتبنا

TRANSLATION

"The Persians, who are divided in various creeds, driven away from the country of their birth or scattered in their native land, but much inclined to the preservation of their genealogy, which they carry on from generation to generation and from father to son, report that their first king was Kayômars.

"Some believe that Kayômars is the eldest son of Adam. Others, who form a minority, consider him to be the father of mankind and the beginner, *i.e.*, the ancestor, of all the races. Others, after all, identify him with Omair, أَمِير, son of Lâwed, لاود, or Lâwez, لاوذ, son of Aram, ارام, son of Sâam, سام, son of Nôh نوح. In reality Omair was the first of the children of Nôh, who established himself in Persia, the country where Kayômars resided. The Persians reject the deluge of Nôh (Noah). They maintain that the people, who lived between Adam and Noah, spoke the Syriac language and that they did not obey any king although they dwelt in the same country. God knows the truth. Kayômars was thus only the first and the most powerful of his contemporaries.

"This was the motive which made the very early Persians resolve to choose a king and to have a chief. They recognized that revolt, envy, tyranny and hatred were inborn in man and that fear alone could lead them to be good. Examining attentively the creation, the laws which regulated the human body, and man as a sensible and intelligent being, they saw, in the body so constituted, an equipage of understanding, destined to carry to a particular faculty the seat of which was in the heart, the

notions which it received and carried and set off again in spite of their diversity. It was to this faculty that the body should salute. If it perished, all the rest would perish with it, and the force and harmony of the organism would be destroyed. They understood that if the world in miniature, that is to say, the terrestrial and mortal body, should salute this superior faculty, society could, in the same way, exist only under the shield of a king who guided it and imposed upon it the respect for justice and obedience to the laws dictated by reason.

“They then went to find out Kayômars, son of Lawed, and placed before him the necessity for them to have a just king and said to him : ‘You are the greatest and the noblest amongst us; you are the last offspring of our common father and you have no equal in this century. Take the direction of our affairs in your hands and be our chief; we promise in return respect and obedience to you and absolute submission to your orders.’ Kayômars, acceding to their request, made them swear with the most solemn oath that they would obey him and renounce every attempt at revolt. After having placed the crown over his head, and it was he who introduced this usage among men, he addressed to them the following discourse : ‘The duration of good fortune depends upon the thankfulness which it inspires. Let us glorify God, thank Him for His favours and pray that He may increase these favours. Let us implore His aid in the way which He has laid down. May His holy will accord to us the intelligence which makes order and harmony the law in the world. Have confidence in our justice, observe the laws of equity and we will lead you towards the glorious aim which you aspire to reach. May God have mercy on me and you!’

“ Kayômars constantly associated with his authority the purest virtue, and his justice assured the repose and happiness of his subject during his reign. The Persians attach a mysterious significance to the custom of putting on the crown, which we pass over here in silence, because we have spoken of it in our Historical Annals and in our middle¹ History.

“ They say that Kayômars was the first to prescribe silence during the meals. He said that nature thus receives the share which is due to it; the body profits by the nourishment which it receives. The vital spirits then recover calm, every limb is apt to contribute, by the absorption of the alimentary juices, to the well-being and health of the body; the liver and all the organs of the digestive apparatus receive their nourishment, and all the functions of life become regular. On the contrary, if man is distracted by some preoccupation when he eats, the digestion is disturbed, the nourishment is distributed unequally and there results from it a mingling and a trouble very prejudicial to the vital humours and to health. In the long run this disorder must lead to a disruption between the thinking and reasoning faculty and the human body; the thought abandons the body and it becomes incapable of conducting itself with discernment. Besides this, the Persians have, on the relations which unite the soul to the body, some mysterious theories which cannot find place in this book. We have described them elsewhere in our work entitled ‘The Secret of Life’ and in our book of ‘Degrees,’ كتاب الـراف , by distinguishing the speaking soul from the soul which

1. الأوسط . Perhaps what is meant is general history or history of the middle ages.

is irritable, sensitive, of intense longings, etc. We have, in short, cited the opinions of all the philosophers, ancient or modern, as to this question.

“People differ as regards the duration of Kayômars’s life. Some believe that he lived a thousand years; others say less. The Magi have long legends relating to this king, whom they consider to be the father of mankind. They say that he germinated, he and his wife, in the form of a plant named *riyâs*, رياس, and that they were named *Sâbah*, شابه, and *Mansâbah*, منسابه. They give, on this subject, other accounts which one would blush to repeat; for example, the recital of his fight with the devil, etc. Kayômars lived in the city of Istakhr in Fârs and ruled for forty years or a little less.

“Kayômars’s successor was Aûshanj, اوشهنج, (Hôsang), son of Farvâl, فروال, (Fravâk), Kayômars’s successors, Hôsang, son of Siyâmak, سيامك, son of Yarnîq, یرنق, son of Kayômars. Aûshanj resided in India and ruled for forty years or a shorter period. Opinions are divided as regards this king. Some say that he was the brother of Kayômars, son of Adam, and others take him to be the son of Kayômars.

“He Aûshanj handed over the crown to Tahmurath, تهمورث, son of Nûbajahân, نوبجهان, Bûdasf in his reign (Vivangahân), son of Arfakhsad, ارفخشث, son of Aûshanj. Tahmurath lived in Sâbûr, سابور. In his reign, there appeared Bûdasf, بوداسف, founder of the Sabeian religion (الصبيه). He announced that the source of all nobility, the absolute good,

1. Another MS. has Bîvarasf, بیوراسف.

and the principle of life were in the heavens, and that the stars, whilst rising or disappearing, regulated the destinies of the world. The coming of a star out of its orb, its motion in space, its junction or separation from the stars at a point of the general orbit, determined, according to Bûdasf, all the events of this world, the duration of life, the composition or dispersion of primordial elements, the perfection of exterior forms, the appearance or absorption of the seas. In short, it was in the planets and their orbs that he placed the supreme motive power. By these doctrines and even others which we omit in order to avoid length of description, he beguiled a large number of weak minds. Bûdasf is considered the author of Sabæanism, professed by the Harranians and the Kimerians (الحرانيون والكيمريون). However, the Kimerians founded in Sabæanism a sect which differed from that of the Harranians. They lived between Wâsit (واسط) and Basrah in Irâk, not far from fish-ponds and swamps.

“After having ruled for thirty years Tahmurath died and was succeeded by his brother Jam, Jam'sid جم, who resided in Fârs. A tradition assigns the deluge, طوفان, to this period. According to another very reliable tradition, it was Jam who instituted the Nîrûz, نيروز, (Nôrûz) and its ceremonies on which we shall have occasion to revert. Such is the opinion of Abu Obeidah Mâmer, son of Al-Motanni, ابو عبيدة ممر بن المتنى, who relies on the evidence of Omar-Kasrâ, عمر كسرى, a person who owes his surname of Omar-Kasrâ to his knowledge of Persia and of its kings. Jam died after a reign of six or seven hundred years and six months. He invented various arts, built numerous monuments, discovered novel processes and wished to be adored as a god.

“Jam was succeeded by Bivarasp, son of Arwad-
 as¹, **بيوراسب بن ارواداسب**, son of Ridwân,
 Bivarasp son of Hâbâs, son of Tâh, son of
 Farwâl, son of Siyâmak, son of Bars,
 son of Kayômarth. He is also named Dahâk, a name
 which has been completely modified and which many
 Arabs pronounce Ad-Dahhâk, **الضحاك**. Others name him
 Bohrasf, **بهراسف**, which is an error. His correct name
 is Bivarasp, **بيوراسب**, as we have adopted it. The histo-
 rians agree in saying that Jam was killed at his command.
 The origin of Bivarasp is differently explained. Some
 believe that he was of Persian race, others say that he was
 of the Arab race. This latter opinion is accepted by the
 Persians. They say that Bivarasp was a magician who
 made himself master of the seven regions, that he ruled for
 a thousand years and desolated the earth by his tyranny
 and cruel acts. The legends of Persia give long details of
 this king and report that he is fastened by iron chains
 on the mountain of Donbâvand, **دنباوند**, between Ray
 and Tabaristân. Bivarasp is also mentioned by certain
 Arab poets, ancient and modern, among others by Abû
 Nawâs, **ابو نواس**, who, as the freedman of Sa'ad al-'Asirah,
سعد العسيرة, the Yamanite, boasts that Dahhâk was a
 native of Yaman. Here is the passage:—‘One of us was
 Ad-Dahhâk whom the camels and the wild beasts served
 in the midst of their pastures.’

“Afaridûn, **افريدون** son of Ankiyâd, **انقياد**, son of Jam,
 king of the seven regions, succeeded
 Faridûn Bivarasp. It was Afaridûn who seized
 Bivarasp and enchained him on the
 mount Donbâvand as we will just state. According to the

1. The editor of the text give **ارونداسف** as a variant of
ارواداسب.

opinion of the Persians or of those who have studied their history like Omar-Kasrā and other authors, Afaridūn instituted a feast to celebrate the anniversary of Dahhāk's captivity. It is named Mehrajān, as we will say later on, whilst citing different traditions on this subject. The capital of Afaridūn was Bâbel, بابل. The country which bears this name owes it to the village of Bâbel situated on one of the canals (نهر) of the Euphrates, فرات, (Farât), an hour's march from the village named the Bridge of Bâbel, جسر بابل, and from the Nahr-en-Ners, نرس, where they manufacture the clothes called Narsiyeh, نرسبه. In the same village are found the wells of the prophet Daniel, دانيال, which the Christians and the Jews come to visit on certain annual feasts. The traveller notices in the neighbourhood some heaps of ruins and some debris of buildings in the form of mounds. Many persons believe that under these ruins are hidden the two angels Hârût and Mârût, mentioned in the Koran, according to the explanation which the divine book gives of the name of Bâbel. Afaridūn ruled for five hundred years and the period of his reign has been exaggerated or reduced by authors. He apportioned his dominions among his three sons. A poet of Persian descent, who lived after the preaching of Islam, whilst speaking of the three sons of Afaridūn, says:

“ We have, in our age, divided our kingdom just as
meat is divided on the stall.

We have ceded the country of Rûm, روم, and Syria,
شام, upto the West to the valiant Salm.

To Tûh, طوح, we have given the Turks who obey
with reluctance.

For Irân, ایران, we have conquered the kingdom of Persia, فارس, and we have loaded him with our favours'.

"The preceding facts have raised some discussions. People believe, for example, that the country of Bâbel was given to Iraj, ایرج, son of Afaridûn, but having been killed by one of his brothers, during the life-time of Afaridûn, Iraj could not reign and must not be counted in the list of kings. We will relate, later on, the circumstances which prove that this country belonged to Iraj, and we will explain how usage having replaced the letter *jîm*, جيم, by a *nûn*, نون, people pronounced Irân-sahr, ايران شهر; the word sahr, شهر, signifies kingdom, ملك.

"Afaridûn was succeeded by Manûsahr, منوشهر, son of Irân, son of Afaridûn, or, according to a variant which we have explained elsewhere, son of Iraj, son of Afaridûn. He reigned at Bâbel for twenty years and was a contemporary (في زمانه) of Moses, son of Amrân, عمران, and of Yûs'a, يوشع (Joshua), son of Nûn, نون. As to the battles which he had to wage with his two uncles, Tûh and Salm, the murderers of his father (frère?), our preceding works may be consulted.

"The successor of Manûsahr was Sahm, ساهم, son of Abân, ابان, son of Ankiyâd, انقياد, son of Nûzar (نوزر), son of Manûsahr. Sahm ruled at Bâbel for sixty years or more. We have mentioned, in our historical Annals, the long wars, the life and the rule of this king.

"The throne was then occupied by Farâsiyâb, فراسياب, son of Bâsir, باسير, son of Rây Arsan, Farâsiyâb رای ارسن, son of Yûrak, یورک, son of Sânyâsp, ساناسب, son of Rasasp, رسسب, son of Nûh, son of Dûrsirîn, دورشرین, son of Tûh, son of Afarîdûn. Farâsiyâb was born in the country of the Turks (بلاد الترك), which led to the mistaken statement on the part of a writer, author of chronicles and of other works, that he was of Turkish descent. Farâsiyâb ruled the provinces which he had conquered for twelve years, and there they claimed that he lived for four hundred years.

"In the twelfth year of his reign, he was attacked by Zû, زو, son of Behâsf, بهاسف, son of Kamjauhar, کمجومر, son of Harâsf, هراسف, son of Râydanj, رایدنچ, son of Ro'a, رع, son of Bâsir, باسير, son of Nûzar, نوذر, son of king Manûsahr, منوشهر. After a desperate fight, Zû faced his rival, killed his partisans and remedied the devastations caused by Farâsiyâb.

"The account of these and other events concerning the expeditions and reciprocal invasions of the Persians and the Turks, the death of Siyâvakhs, and the story of Rustam, son of Dastân¹, are described in detail in the book entitled *Sakîsarân* (السكران), translated from the ancient dialect of Persia (الفارسية الاولى), i.e., Pahlavi, into Arabic by Ibn al-Moqaffa'. In the same work is found the story of Asfandiyâr, son of Bostâst

Ibn al-Moqaffa's book on the various episodes of those times

1. This was another name of Zâl.

2. The editors are doubtful as regards this name.

(Gustâsp), son of Bohrâsf (Lohrâsp), who was killed by Rustam, the combat in which Rustam perishes at the hand of Bahman, son of Asfandiyâr, and some other marvellous episodes of the primitive history of Persia. The Persians attach great value to this book, on account of the information which it furnishes as to the history of their kings and the morals of their ancestors."

III

MY OBSERVATIONS

I now give my observations and notes on Mas'ûdi's text.

Mas'ûdi speaks, at the very outset of his account of the Persians, that they were desirous to trace their genealogy, not only the Persians of Persia, but also those who had left the country. It is possible that, in his wanderings, Mas'ûdi might have come into contact with the Zoroastrians of India and learnt from them that they, especially the priestly class, traced their descent from the past fore-fathers of several generations. As examples of this custom of the priests preserving their genealogies, I may mention the pedigree given by the scribes of two MSS. written in India.

1) In the MS. of the Persian 'Bahman-nâma' copied by Rânâ Jesang,¹ the scribe traces his ancestral descent as follows:—"Herbad Rânâ, son of Herbad Jesang, son of Herbad Dâdâ from the family stock of Mobad Hormazdyâr, (son of) Herbad Râmyâr, in the city of Naosari, in the time of Mahmûd Sâh Sultân bin Latîf Khân, the nephew of Bahadûr Sâh Sultân..."

1. See my 'Parsis at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana' ('Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society', Vol. XXI, pp. 239-240, and the separate print, pp. 170-171.)

2) In the Pahlavi 'Ardâ Virâf' of Dastur Hoshangji and Dr. Haug, (1872), p. 266, the scribe, Pësyôtan Râm, traces his descent from his eighth ancestor Hôrmazdyâr Râmyâr as follows:—"...written by me, the servant of the religion, the herbad's son, the teacher Pësyôtan, *son of Râm, son of Kâmdin, son of Sahriyâr, [son of Nëryôsang, son of Sâh-mart, son of Sahriyâr,] son of Bahrâm, son of the môbad Hôrmazdyâr, son of the herbad Râmyâr; and from the handwriting of the herbad Rustam, son of Mihrbân.*"

The colophons of old Parsi MSS. supply many historical materials, both as regards individuals as well as the whole community.²

Mas'ûdi presents to us various views about Kayômars. Some held him to be the very first man, the father of mankind, and others considered him to be descended from Nôh. Mas'ûdi's own view is this that "Kayômars was only the *first* and the most powerful of his contemporaries." I think this to be the correct view according to the Parsi books. The view as summed up by me, in 1892, from Parsi books

1. These three names, omitted by mistake in the translation, are inserted from the Pahlavi text on p. 246.—Editor.

2. It was owing to the importance of the colophons of old MSS. that the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet of Bombay had, at my humble suggestion, kindly engaged Ervad Noshervan Farjorji Desai to collect the colophons of MSS. in some of the Parsi libraries of India, and Dr. Jamshed Manekji Unwala those of the MSS. in the libraries of Europe. Similarly, the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, kindly accepting my suggestion, had directed an inspection of the MSS. of some private Parsi libraries of Gujarat, engaging Ervad Jamshed C. Katrak for the work.

is as follows¹ :—

“જામસીદ-મસ'ઉદી = ગય-મરૈતન ય. ૧૩, ૮૭, ૧૪૫. ગયોમદ્. એ ક્વદીન યશત પ્રમાણે પેહલવેહલો ભલો ધરાની હુતો કે જેણે અહુરમઝ્દની શિખામણો પેહલવાં સાંભળી અને જેનીથી ધરાન દેશના ભલા લોકોની નસલ ઉતરી છે.....અવસ્તામાં જણાવ્યા પ્રમાણે બુનદેહેશમાં પણ સઘળા કેઆની પાદશાહોની વંશાવળી એનાથી શરૂ થયેલી જણાવી છે. શીરદોસી પોતાનું 'શાહનામું' પણ એ પાદશાહથી શરૂ કરે છે.....દસાતીરમાં ગયોમદ્ને 'ફર-ઝીનસાર' કહ્યો છે અને તેને 'ફરપુદે યાસાન આઝમ' એટલે “ યાસાન આઝ-મનો છોકરો” કહ્યો છે.....દીનકદ્ ગયોમદ્ને પેહલવેહલો દીન લાવનાર કહે છે.”

Whilst speaking of the reign of Jamsîd, Mas'ûdî says that a tradition places the Deluge in his time (Une tradition place le déluge à cette époque). I think that the Parsi books do not speak of the Deluge and Mas'ûdî is right when he says, at the very commencement of his account of the ancient Persians, that the Persians reject the Deluge of Nôh (Noah) (الفرس لا تعرف طوفان نوح). I know that even some Parsi scholars see, in the account of Jamsîd (Yima Khshâeta) in the second chapter of the Vandidâd, a reference to the great Deluge ; but I do not think so. I had the pleasure of reading a paper on king Jamsîd, before the eighth Oriental Conference at Stockholm in 1889, and I had submitted that view, at the time. I have treated the question at some length in my prize-essay on Jamsîd written in 1882, and tried to show that the account of the second chapter of the Vandidâd does not refer to any protection against a deluge but against a rigid winter.²

1. In my 'Gujarati Dictionary of Avestan Proper Names', p. 74.

2. See my Gujarati essay : 'Jamsîd, Hom and Fire', p. 42 et seq.

Mas'udi attributes to Kayômars the introduction of

Mas'udi's reference to the Parsi custom of holding silence at meals

the custom of holding silence at meals. The custom was pretty generally followed by the Parsis of India till about fifty years ago. It is followed, even now,

by the Parsi priests who officiate in the inner circle of the liturgy. This custom is spoken of as that of "holding *bāj* at meals". If they have to speak unavoidably whilst taking their meals, they mutter with compressed lips, for which the Gujarati expression is: *bāj mā bolwîn*, i.e., "to mutter whilst holding grace." For further particulars on the subject of holding the *bāj*, which is a kind of recitation of 'grace' before meals, I refer my readers to the subject treated in my 'Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis,' (pp. 354-366). The scientific reason for holding silence whilst eating as given by some medical men is almost the same as that advanced by Mas'udi, that the circulation of blood at the time of meals must all be directed to the process of digestion and must not be detracted, by thinking, to the brain.

Tabari also refers to this custom and says that it originated with a famine in Persia in the time of Tahmuras.

Mas'udi thus explains the birth of Kayômars:—"They

The origin of Kayômars as the first man

say that he germinated, he and his wife, in the form of 'a plant named *riyâs*.' This view is expressed in the Bundahisn, Ch. XV,¹ according to

1. See my Gujarati translation of the Bundahisn, p. 59; see also my paper 'The Germ of the Evolution Theory in old Iranian literature', read before the Anthropological Section of the tenth Indian Science Congress held at Lucknow in January 1923. ('Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay', Vol. XII, No. 8, pp. 1003-1014; my 'Anthropological Papers,' Part IV, pp. 30-41.)

which, "Gayômart emitted the seed on passing away ; they filtered the seed by means of the light of the sun ; Nêryôsang guarded two parts of the seed and Spendarmat accepted one part, and for forty years it remained within the earth. On the completion of forty years, Masi and Masyani grew up from the earth."

The Sâbah, ^{شابه}, and Musâbah referred to by Mas'ûdî, are Masi and Masyani, as pointed out by the French translators.

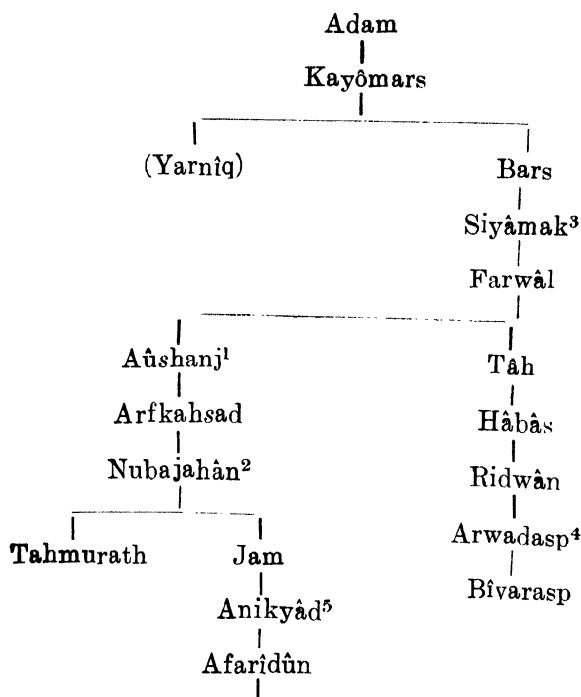
In his account of the progeny of Kayômars, Mas'ûdî says that there were "other accounts which one would blush to repeat." I think what he had in his mind is the account in the Pahlavi Bundahisn, where we read :—"For spoke he, Masi to Masyani : ' When I see thy shame my desires arise.' Then Masyani spoke thus : ' Brother Masya ! when I see thy great desire I am agitated'. Afterwards, it became their mutual wish that the satisfaction of their desires should be accomplished, and they reflected thus : ' Our duty even for those fifty years was this.' "

This is what some scientists would say, even now, from the scientific standpoint as regards the first rise and growth of mankind out of the animal creation.

Mas'ûdî gives various views as regards the origin of Kayômars but, in the end, seems to take him as the first historical or demi-historical or pre-historical king of Persia and then traces the descent of his successors. I give here a genealogical table of his descendants in the Pêsdâdian dynasty as prepared from the various statements of Mas'ûdî :—

٢٤ The successors of Kayômars ; ٢٥ their pedigree

1. See B. de Meynard's 'Maçoudî', Vol. II, pp. 110, 111, 113.



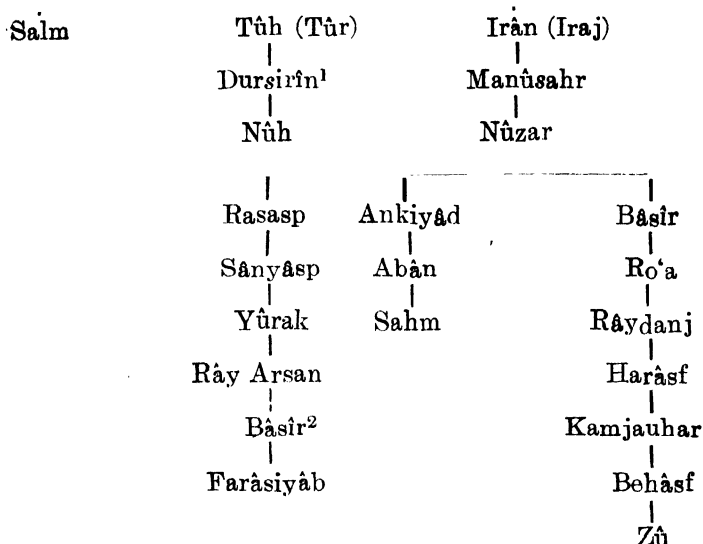
1. Some say that Aûshanj (Hôsang) was Kayômars' brother; according to others, he was his son.

2. One MS. spells the name Yûjahân (يوجهان). Both these forms seem to be corrupted from the Avestan name Vivahana (𐬯𐬀𐬬𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌).

3. In one place, Mas'ûdî speaks of Siyâmak as being the son of Yarnîq (p. 110), in another as the son of Bars (p. 113). It seems that both 'Yarnîq' and 'Bars' are derived from the same form. 'Yarnîq', if written with a change of points may be read 'Barnîq', and if transcribed in Pahlavi (𐭠𐭣𐭥) it can be read 'Barus'.

4. In the Sâh-nâma the name is 'Mardâs', corrupted from 'Arwadasp'.

5. Corrupted from the Avesta 'Âthwya,' 'Âbtîn' in the Sâh-nâma.



According to Mas'ûdi, Bûdasf, the founder of the Sabean sect, appeared in the reign of Tahmurath. He believed in the science of astrology, according to which the stars influenced the destiny of men. As noted by the editors of Mas'ûdi's text, one of the MSS. has the reading Bîvarasp insted of Bûdasf. But as we know that Bîvarasp flourished after the reign of Jam, Bûdasf must be a person other than Bîvarasp. The only person represented by other writers as appearing in the time of Tahmurath was Ahriman in the form of a charger.

Mas'ûdi makes the following statements as regards Bîvarasp :

1 Corrupted from the Pahlavi Durâsarân.

2. The name of Afrâsiyâb's father is 'Pasang' according to the Sâh-nâma, which when written in Pahlavi characters, can with a little change be read, 'Bâsîr'.

his 'Sikandar-nāma'.¹

The other feast, inaugurated by Farīdūn, is named Mebrjān (مهرجان) by Mas'ūdī. It is the 'Meherangān' of the modern Parsis and is celebrated on the sixteenth day Meher of the seventh month Meher. It used to fall at the time of the Autumnal Equinox.²

Mas'ūdī has not referred to the feast (jasn) inaugurated by the Pēsdādian king Hōsang to celebrate the discovery of Fire, known as the 'Jasn-i Sadah'.

From Mas'ūdī's account, we find that Kayōmars had made Istakhr his capital. Hōsang had his residence in India, هند. Tahmurath lived in Sābūr, سابور. Jamsīd resided in Fārs, فارس, Bīvarasp or Dahāk was the native of Yaman, یمن.

Bābel (Babylon) was the capital of Farīdūn, Manūsahr and Salm. It was Kay Kāus of the Kayānian dynasty who transferred his capital from Bābel in Irāq to Balkh.

We find the following figures given by Mas'ūdī as the number of years of the reign of the Pēsdādian kings:—

Kings	Years
Kayōmarth	40
Hōsang	40
Tahmurath	30
Jam	600 to 700
Bīvarasp	1000
Afaridūn	500
Manūsahr	20
Sahm	60
Farāsiyāb	12

1. See my 'Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society during the last 100 years from a Parsi point of view', page 96. 2. For accounts of these two festivals, see my *Essays in Gujarati*: 'Jamsēd and Jamsēdi Naoroz' and 'Meher and Jasn-i Meherangān.'

A FEW NOTES ON THE PARSI HISTORY OF CAMBAY

By

THE LATE DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, KT., LL.D.

[For further particulars see: 1) Prof. S. H. Hodiwala's two lectures on 'The Old Parsi Settlement of Cambay', 2) 'The Parsi Prakash', 3) 'A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis', 4) 'Parsis at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ'.]

A. C.

1090 The Parsis began to disperse from Sanjan to the different towns of Gujarat and amongst them to Cambay, about 1090 A. C. (See my 'Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis', p. 14).

1323 It seems that, in the fourteenth century, there
-24 was a prosperous Parsi Colony in Cambay with a Fire-temple. The well-known Iranian scribe Mihir-Âwân Kai-khosru wrote there, in this year, two copies of the Avesta-Pahlavi Vandidâd and Yasna for a Beh-dîn merchant named Châhil Sangan.

1478 In the Rivâyats sent from Persia to the Parsis
-1553 of Hindustân, from 1478 to 1553 A. C., Cambay is especially mentioned among other towns, as the town where the Parsis lived. This shows that, from 1478 to 1553, Cambay (written Khambâyat) was a flourishing Parsi Colony. (See my 'Parsis at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ', pp. 58-60, 'The Parsi Prakash', Vol. I, p. 6). In five cases the Zoroastrians of Cambay were chosen as messengers of those Rivâyats. (See B. B. Patel's

paper: 'A Brief Outline of some Controversial questions', etc., in the 'K. R. Cama Memorial Volume', edited by me, pp. 173-4).

- 1478 The first Rivâyat in which Cambay is mentioned is that of Nariman Hoshang. ('The Parsi Prakash', Vol. I, p. 6; 'Parsis at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ', p. 58).
- 1486 The second Rivâyat of Nariman Hoshang. ('The Parsi Prakash', *ibid.*)
- 1511 An unnamed Rivâyat. ('The Parsi Prakash', I, p. 6; 'Parsis at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ', p. 59).
- 1516 Rivâyat of Jasâ.
- 1527 Shâpûr Âsâ's Rivâyat. (*Ibid.* p. 60). Kâmâ Âsâ, a Beh-din of Cambay, brought the reply to questions. This reply still exists in the original in the Meherji Rânâ Library at Naosari.
- 1535 A stone Tower of Silence was built at Cambay. This is mentioned as a great event. Brick Towers existed long before this. Aspandyâr Yazdyâr's Rivâyat. (*Ibid.* p. 60). In this Rivâyat the following Parsis are specially named: Âsâ Narsang, Nâkhavâ Âsâ, Kâmâ Âsâ, Limbâ Kâmâ and Jivâ Khorshed. ('The Parsi Prakash', I, p. 8; Prof. Hodiwala's paper on 'The Old Parsi Settlement of Cambay', in the Cama Institute Journal, No. 8).
- 1553 The Rivâyat of Kâus Kâmdin contains the name of Cambay. (See 'Parsis at the Court of Akbar', p. 60).
- 1572 Akbar went from Ahmadâbâd to Cambay for the first time to see the Great Sea from there.

It is possible that he saw the Parsis there for the first time.

- 1575 At least a large portion, if not the whole of the
-83 Parsi Colony of Cambay, was destroyed by a Hindu
named Kalyanray who was a 'mutasaddi', "clerk",
some time between 1575 and 1583. (See Prof.
Hodiwala's paper in the Journal of the K. R. Cama
Oriental Institute, No. 8, pp. 13-14).
- 1601 A MS. of the 'Bahman Yast' written by Mâhvin-
dat at Cambay. From this year, the Parsis of
Cambay ceased to be mentioned in the Rivâyats. So
it seems that the Colony began to lose its impor-
tance, owing to the rise of the Portuguese power.
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SOME HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF SOUTHERN PERSIA

BY C. INOSTRANTSEV

The mountain tribes of Kermân are interesting for the elucidation of the ethnical surroundings in relation to the Parsis, as related in the Qisseh-i Sanjân, immediately before their emigration to India. The oldest reference we have is to the mountaineer tribe of Pârchân, the Bâriz : Herodotus mentions this tribe for the first time in connection with the reckoning of the taxes of the Persian kingdom (III, 94), where they are named 'Parikanii' and mentioned with the 'Asiatic Ethiops'; for the second time, in relation to the army of Xerxes, (VII, 68 and 86), where he describes their dress and armour: the dress prepared from fleece, and the aboriginal bows and swords. The chief has an Iranian name¹. Their existence is affirmed by notices taken of them in Sasanian times: Tabarî relates their defeat by Chosroes Anûsirwân². We find the mention of this tribe in the romance of Ardasîr³. Ibn-Khurdâdbeh relates that the chief of the Qufs and of Pârchân⁴ had received from the first Sasanian king Ardasir the title of 'sâh'. Perhaps by the 'Asiatic Ethiops' of Herodotus are to be understood the Qufs. The opinion of Arabic writers as to the origin of the Qufs from Oman and Yaman can only be an indication of the anthropological resemblance of this people with the population of north-eastern Africa.

1. For these oldest narratives of the Bâriz and the Qufs see *J. Marquart*, 'Erânšehr', 31.

2. *Th. Nöldeke*, 'Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit des Sasaniden', 157.

3. *Th. Nöldeke* in 'Bezenbergers Beiträge', IV, 57.

4. *Marquart*.

W. Tomaschek¹ is probably right when he identifies the Qufs with the 'Asiatic Ethiops' of Herodotus (VII, 70) and considers them the most westerly representatives of the Dravidas. Balázuri² mentions the Qufs in Kerman, and refers also to the land of Qussa, perhaps Qufsa, in Sind³. The people Balûs are not known to the ancient writers⁴.

From the time of the great Islamic conquests we often come across the names of these people in the Arabic works, but detailed notices are preserved by Istakhri, Ibn-Hauqal and Maqdisi⁵. In the first place it is necessary to indicate the difference in language of the surrounding population. Istakhri⁶ indicates that the language of the Qufs, Balûs and Bâriz is not Persian, but they have their own dialects. According to Ibn-Hauqal⁷, only the Qufs have a particular dialect, but here there must be some misunderstanding in the text. Maqdisi⁸ relates that the languages of the Qufs and the Balûs are not understood and are similar to the language of Sind.

1. 'Zur historischen Topographie von Persien,' I, Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, phil-hist. Classe, CII, 190-191.

2. *De Goeje*, 391.

3. *Ib.* 438. *J. Marquart* in 'Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft', XLIX, 663, n. 3, reads this name 'Quchcha'. Cf. the Persian name Qufs-Qûch and Qûch-Gandava in Baluchistan. For the name of the chief of this land راسل, more properly راسك, see also Istakhri, 171 and 177, Ibn-Hauqal, 226 and 232, Maqdisi, 476 and 484. Perhaps بارسك on page 490 ought to be corrected to راسك. *Marquart*, 665-667, identifies the name Quf with the old Persian *Kaufa*, "mountain."

4. *Tomaschek*, 191, supposes that they are the descendants of the Uti, Herodotus, III, 93 and VII, 68. But I think that we cannot identify them with the Zutt, Jât as *Tomaschek* has done.

5. Cf. *Guy le Strange*, 'The Lands of Eastern Caliphate,' 323-324.

6. 'Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum', I, 167.

7. BGA, II, 224.

8. BGA, III, 471.

Istakhri (163-165) determines the territory of the Qufs thus: on the south the Indian ocean, on the north Jiruft, near modern Karimâbâd, to the east the desert which separates Kermân from Makrân, to the west the lands occupied by the Balûs upto Hurmuz. According to him, their territory is fertile, but consists of inaccessible mountains, seven in number, over each of which there is a chief. In the time of Istakhri, the government paid a sum to this people for security; still the Qufs robbed the people on the roads and got a large amount of riches. In the absence of riding animals they went on foot. They were of meagre person, of tanned skin and well-formed. The Balûs lived in the mountains occupied by the Qufs and were friendly to them; they were nomads, possessing herds of animals and living in the tents made of felt prepared from cow's hair and led a peaceful life. The mountains of Bâriz were also fertile, even more than the mountains of the Qufs, but possessing more northerly vegetation, sometimes covered with snow and inaccessible. These mountains contained iron mines. The Persian translator of Istakhri adds that the Qufs are named Qûch, and the Balûs Balûch in Persian. Ibn-Hauqal (220-221) identifies the Qufs with the Kurds and gives the figure of their population to be ten thousand in round number. According to him, Bûid Abû-Suja'-Fannâ-khusrau ('Adud-ad-daula) vanquished them and took hold of their mountains. The Balûs helped him in subordinating them.

Maqdisî, like Istakhri, describes these places and the tribes inhabiting them and adds some interesting notes. Thus, whilst describing the mountains of Bâriz (471) in the same way as Istakhri, he further mentions the mountains of Bârdjân (467), where, according to him, there was a fortress and a cathedral-mosque; whilst narrating

the subjugation of the Balûs by 'Adud-ad-daula (471), he names as Balûsian (Balûchian) the language of the inhabitants of Bannâjpûr, a city in Makrân (478), and adds that they are Muslims only in name (cf. 472), on the limits of Kermân. Whilst describing the desert of Khorasan in details, he refers to the Qufs (488-490). He has represented them as savage robbers, pillaging the caravans on the road over the whole of the Khorasan desert. They beat their captives like the serpents with stones, and after robbing, they hid themselves in ambushes made in the mountains. Their principal weapons were the arrows, but they also used swords. Before their subjugation by 'Adud-ad-daula, the Balûs were the most terrible of these robbers. In the time of Maqdisi the authorities of Fârs always had hostages from this tribe; for this reason, they did not attack the caravans, which were under the protection of Fârs. Maqdisi also relates their patience in hunger and thirst, their nourishment being derived from the little balls of the lotus. Their confession of Islam was purely nominal. They always went on foot and at times rode the female camels. In their opinion, they had a just right over the booty they obtained by plunder.¹

Tomaschek, who has identified the Qufs with the modern black-skinned people of the province of Basâkird in southern Kermân, quotes (191) the note on Onesicritus made by Strabo, according to which a tribe in Kermân used to present to its chief the best of the enemies' skulls and nobody could marry without presenting this trophy. From this custom Tomaschek has come to the conclusion that, at this remote period, we undoubtedly find notice of the non-Iranian population.

1. These notices are also found in the Geographical Dictionary of Yâqût.

This custom, characteristic of some people in the lowest grade of culture, perhaps refers to a method of annihilating the enemies employed by the Qufs, as narrated by Maqdisi (286). According to him, the Qufs used to lay the heads of the captives on the board and break them with stones, the reason for so doing, as stated by Maqdisi, being this that they would not spoil their swords. It is possible that, after breaking the heads of the enemies with stones, the Qufs carried away the skulls as trophies. In this connection, we may quote the note of Istakhri (144) on Abû-Dulaf, governor of the Khalif in Hamadân in the second quarter of the ninth century. When Mihrajân-ben-Rûzbeh, one of the petty princes of Fârs from the stock of Yîlûe, had killed Abû-Dulaf's brother, he killed Mihrajân and carried away his head. Up to the end of the power of the Dulafids, this head remained with the posterity of Abû-Dulaf. In their campaigns, this head was borne on a pole in the front, the skull being covered with silver. When this trophy fell into the hands of the Saffârids, 'Amr-ben-Laith broke the head. Undoubtedly we have here the instance of a trophy in the form of a skull. It is interesting to note that according to Ibn-Rustê¹, Abû-Dulaf was one of the 'Ibâdits, sedentary Nestorian population of Hîra, an Arabic vassal principality of the Sasanians with authority over Bahrain². The ethnic composition of the 'Ibâdits was very heterogeneous and it is not impossible to prove the connection of Abû-Dulaf with the Qufs. From the facts mentioned above we see that, up to the end of the tenth century, all Persia, through the Khorasan desert, was divided into two parts by the rambling tribes, partly of Iranian, and partly of non-

1. BGA, V, 207.

2. G. Rothstein, 'Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Hîra', 1928, 131-133.

Iranian origin, and they were in a very low grade of culture. One of them, the Pârchân, was finally subjugated to the Muslim dynasty, only at the end of the ninth century, by the Saffârids, and at the end of the tenth century, according to Maqdisî, was probably kneaded totally in the Islamic-Persian surrounding. The other tribe of the Balûchs, was subordinated to the Bûids only in the second half of the tenth century. Istakhri wrote his work two years after 'Adud-ad-daula came to the throne and for this reason we find no notice of this fact in his work. The third tribe of the Qûch was only nominally subjugated, with great difficulty, and continued their rambling life. When, at the end of the first half of the eleventh century, the Saljûqid Qâvard-bek conquered Kermân, we find that the ethnic name, Pârchân, did not exist, it was only a geographical nomination of "the mountains of Bârjân," populated by the Qûch, who were subjugated by Qâvard.¹ Later on, in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, we find the Qûch and the Balûch in Kermân, in relation with the amir of Hurmuz². In our times, based on the tradition of the heroic poems, the new historian of the Balûch³ relates their movement towards the East. It must be noticed that Muhammad-ben-Ibrâhîm (182) describes the Qûch and the Balûch of the provinces of Garmsîr⁴. In Maqdisî we find the notice of the nearness of the language of the Balûch to the language of the population of Sind, i.e., to the population of the north-western India; but we do not think that

1. See Muhammad-ben-Ibrâhîm, 'History of the Seldjûqids of Kermân', ed. *Houtsma*, 5-8.

2. *Ib.* 154 and 182.

3. *M. Longworth-Dames*, 'The Baloch race', 33-34, and the 'Encyklopædie des Islam', 661.

4. For this name see *J. Marquart*, 'Erânšahr', 272.

the Arabic writers refer to the same people, who comprise a great part of the population of the land, which now has the same name, Baluchistan. Admitting very early ethnographic, anthropological and linguistic fusion, and after considering the above mentioned facts, we think we can come to the conclusion, which confirms some opinions expressed before by us, and important from different points of view: the territory occupied by the Balûch, during the period of the Islamic middle age, extended from the Persian gulf to the Indus and, therefore, the chief place of their habitation was especially the western borders: a fact which is of interest for the study of the ethnic composition of this people and of their language.¹

1. Cf. further *A. Kremer*, 'Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen', I, 307-308, note, where the preceding literature is indicated. The opinions as to the home-land of the Balûch being the Caspian lands as stated in 'Encyklopädie des Islam', 652-4, are not clear. See *ib.* 659, a general view of the language of the Balûch founded on the researches of *Geiger*.

A NOTE ON THE HISTORY OF THE SACRED FIRES

BY C. INOSTRANTSEV

In his translation of the Avesta, J. Darmesteter has given a detailed interpretation of the three sacred fires under whose protection were the three principal classes of Persian society in the time of the Sasanids—the military, the clergy and the agriculturists¹. These fires, not directly named in the Avesta, are named in the 'Great Bundahisn': 'Farnbag,' "protector of the clergy," 'Gûsnasp,' "protector of the military class," and 'Bûrjîn-Mitr,' "protector of the agriculturists," and we find them named 'Khurdâd,' 'Gusasp' and 'Burzîn-Mihr' in the Rivâyats.

Besides these three principal fires, the entire territory of Sasanian Persia was covered by temples of fire more or less known². In the first place, from their significance,

1. J. Darmesteter, 'Le Zend-Avesta', T. 1. (Annales du Musée Guimet, XXI), 151-156, and also, A. V. Williams Jackson, 'Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran', 98-100. For the fire 'Farnbag' see the same author, 'The location of Farnbag fire—the most ancient of the Zoroastrian fires' in 'Journal of the American Oriental Society', V, 41, 81-107. For the fire 'Gûsnasp' see the special references of H. C. Rawlinson in 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London', X, 65-159, and F. Spiegel in 'Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft', XXXIII, 496-502. Cf. Th. Nöldeke, 'Geschichte der Sasaniden nach Tabari', 100 anm. 1. According to Ibn-Khurdâdbeh and such other later writers as Yâqût, it is especially interesting to note that every Sasanian king had to perform the pilgrimage of this fire on his accession to the throne. It was the richest fire temple in Persia. For the generous presents of the king to this fire see Th. Nöldeke, 104.

2. Mas'ûdi also mentions the temples in Hind, Sind and China.

we can with certainty name the province of Fârs as the residence of the fire 'Farnbag,' "Protector of the clergy," in the village of Kâriyân. Istakhri and Ibn-Hauqal¹ enumerate the principal sacred fires of Fârs, and relate that there is a great number of temples of fire in Fârs, twenty in all. Ibn-Hauqal adds that it is difficult even to enumerate them without their official register. Such a register did exist. They name as the most celebrated the fire temple in Kâriyân. It is well known that it was at first located in Jurre² or Jûr, which, according to them, was founded by Dârâ-ibn-Dârâ in the Achæmænian period, the place of the Persians for taking the most solemn oaths; there were two in Sâbûr, two in Kâzarûn, two in Sirâz, one in the village of Bargân near Sirâz, which was visible from this town. Mas'ûdi³ also enumerates the sacred fire temples and their consecration is not limited to the province of Fârs. Of the places named having fire temples are: Tûs, Bukhârâ, Nisâbûr, Siz, Qûmis and Sajastân, and of the towns of Fârs: Kâriyân, Arrajân, Dârâbjird, Istakhr, Nisâ, Sâbûr, Jûr. We also find the fire temples of Persia enumerated by other later Arab geographers, e.g., Idrisi.⁴

We find separate notices of these temples taken by the most ancient Arab geographers. The fire of Siz is

1. 'Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum,' I, 100, 2-5 and 118, 6 - 119, 6; II, 181, 2-4, and 189, 5 - 190, 7. As to the register, الديوان, there existed, in a general sense, a Sasanian proverb, ديوان آمد, "the register has come," indicating unexpected danger.

2. See P. Schwarz, 'Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen', I, 35, ann. 4, as to the reason of the modern name read 'Jurre,' correcting the reading 'Khurre' of the edition. The names of the fires in great number can be read with difficulty.

3. 'Les Prairies d'or', IV, 72 foll.

4. By A. Jaubert, 'Géographie d'Edrisi', I, 413-414. The proper names are much disfigured.

mentioned by Ibn-Khurdâdbeh¹ and Ibn-al-Faqih.² Its name, according to them, is Âdar-jusnas and it was greatly venerated by the fire-worshippers. The foundations of some fire temples are connected with some historical personalities. As for instance, the temple in Jûr was constructed, according to Ibn-al-Faqih, Istakhri and Ibn-Hauqal³, by Ardasîr, the first Sasanian king. According to the statement of Ibn-Ruste⁴, there existed, in a district of Isfahân, a fortress with the temple of fire constructed by Bahman, son of Isfandiyâr, one of the mythical kings. This temple and its fire existed up to the time of Ibn-Ruste. The same author⁵ names a temple, highly venerated by the fire-worshippers, near Hulwân, a village of Sasanian construction. It attracted pilgrims from the remotest places. He⁶ also mentions a temple of fire in Madâin, the post-Sasanian capital.

Yâqûbî⁷ mentions the temples of fire in Kâzwîn. Certainly, all the temples of the Sasanian times were not preserved in the Islamic period. Some of them were converted into mosques, a fact which is interesting for the history of the Islamic architecture. The conversion of Christian churches into mosques is well-known, and this fact explains the influence of the Byzantine architecture on the Islamic; in the farther eastern provinces this influence was due to the Sasanian architecture. For example, we

1. 'Bibl. Geogr. Ar.', VI, 91 (translation) and 119, 17-120, 2 (text).

2. 'Bibl. Geogr. Ar.', V, 286, 13-14. Cf. Ibn-Ruste, *ib.*, VII, 164, 20.

3. 'Bibl. Geogr. Ar.', V, 198, 17-18; I, 124, 2; II, 195, 4.

4. 'Bibl. Geogr. Ar.', VII, 163, 4-5.

5. *Ib.* 165, 16-18.

6. *Ib.* 186, 9-10. The expenditure on this temple was double the *kharâj* of Fârs.

7. 'Bibl. Geogr. Ar.', VII, 271, 11.

can quote Maqdisi¹, who states that the cathedral-mosque of Istakhr was in old times a temple of fire; this can be reconciled with his mention of the representations of the cows, i.e., of the cows' heads, on the upper parts of its columns. This mosque was constructed on the plan of the Syrian mosques. This proves that many alterations were made. According to a statement of Mas'ûdi, Humây, the daughter of Bahman, had converted an edifice in Istakhr, a pagan temple of idols, into a temple of fire; in later times, the fire was removed and the temple demolished. This temple was at the distance of one farsakh from Istakhr, and upto the tenth century were preserved the beautiful columns on the upper parts of which were the representations of horses and other animals, and a wall of stone with the representations of men, according to local belief, of the prophets. It is certain that a large number of these temples was demolished by the Arab conquerors. Ibn-al-Faqih² has devoted a note in relation to the three most venerated fires. He gives this note in his description of the province of Hamadân and the district of Farâhân, about the village of Furdujân having an ancient temple of fire. The text of this note is not in a perfect state, but the sense is generally clear. The fire of Furdujân is, in the words of Ibn-al-Faqih, one particularly venerated by the fire-worshippers. This fire was a part of the fire Âdar-jusnas.³

One Mutawakkili relates, from the statement of the fire-worshippers, the history of this local fire. It is related that king Qubâd, on the advice of Mazdak, extinguished all the fires except the three most ancient;

1. 'Bibl. Geogr. Ar.', III, 436, 3-4.

2. 'Bibl. Geogr. Ar.', V, 246, 3 - 247, 13.

3. Naming the third principal fire as the "fire of Zardust" Ibn-al Faqih agrees entirely with Firdausi and the Rivâyats.

then, it is stated, in dark and confused language, that the fire of Farâhân was transported to Âdarbâijân and was mixed with the fire Âdar-jusnasf. After Mazdak was killed, the fire was brought again to Furdujân and remained there upto 282 A.H., when a Turkish governor of Qumm besieged the village, demolished the temple, extinguished the fire, and carried the hearth to Qumm. From this time the fire of Furdujân was brought to an end.

This citation from Mutawakkilî is important, because it gives an interesting note on the fate of the fire and the history of its wanderings, it being a rare example of the story of a sacred fire. Similar stories have undoubtedly existed in different forms in Parsi literature. This note gives the story of the local cult of a little village; the fires of the great centres have had their more distinguished history.¹

1. I give here a very rare note on the fire of other kinds and on the classification of fires, the fire of the body, the fire of the plants, the fire of the earth and the fire of lightning, on the "fires of Kalwâdhâ," i.e., fires of lightning (Avestan *vâzishta*) connected with beliefs, from Bîrûnî, who was so well informed of Iranian antiquities (*Chronology*, ed. Sachau, text 215, translation 199-200): in the year when the Bûid prince 'Adhad-ad-daula entered Baghdâd at night on the eve of Naurûz the fires flashed on the western shore of the Tigris opposite the village of Kalwâdhâ, and the men sent for inquiry informed the Sultan that "as soon as they came nearer to the fires they went farther off, and as soon as they went away the fires came nearer." Bîrûnî also mentions the belief that on the mountain Damâ in Fârs every night, on the eve of Naurûz, can be seen a far-spreading and strong-shining lightning whether in the clear or in the dark weather.

THE VIEWS OF ARABIC AUTHORS ON THE SASANIAN ALPHABET

BY C. INOSTRANTSEV

During the Sasanian period there were two alphabets, both of Aramaic origin: Chaldean-Pahlavi and Sasanian-Pahlavi. The first, with less quantity of materials, went out of use comparatively early; it was used for inscribing epigraphs in eastern Irân and for inscriptions on the coins of Transoxiana. The second, with more quantity of materials, was divided into two groups: the inscriptions and manuscripts, with the sub-division of the first in three classes: 1) the immovable monuments on rocks, 2) seals and engraved stones, and 3) coins. In the manuscripts, whole or fragmentary, the short-handed forms were used, which have connection with the study of the Pahlavi papyri¹.

In the Arabic literature, we have short notices on the kinds of the Iranian scripts which were known and in use in Sasanian Persia. As we know, a long time after the Islamic conquest, the Persian language and the methods of 'chancellerie' of the Sasanian state

1. I give a general note by way of bibliography: for the alphabet, see general remarks in the 'Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie', I, 253-255 and II, 75-80; for a history of the study of the Pahlavi epigraphy before the twentieth century, see *E. Drouin*, 'Histoire de l'épigraphie Sassanide (aperçu sommaire)', *Le Muséon*, II (XVII), 1898, 5-15, 108-122; for the palæography of the papyri, for instance, see 'Zeitschrift für ägyptische sprache', 1878, 114-116; 'Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzogs Rainer', IV, 1888, 123-126; 'Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Geselsch.', XLIII, 1889, 50-52, 609-612.

were preserved in Persia in the affairs of the state¹. As the Pahlavi script was preserved in the offices of state of the early Islamic period, it can be supposed that it had influenced the development of the Arabic script in Persia. These facts are interesting, not only for a study of the alphabet of the Sasanian time, but also for the study of the historical development of the kinds of writing in the Islamic epoch.

The passage of an-Nadīm's 'Fihrist', in which there is a notice of the various kinds of writing in use in Persia, is well known in the scientific literature. In the critical edition of the text of the 'Fihrist', prepared by G. Flügel, this passage is found in Volume I, 12-14,—on the kinds of writing especially 13, 8-14, 18—and Volume II, 6-9, particularly 8-9². Generally speaking this passage can be considered as an explanation, but not in full. Amongst others, on a copy of the 'Huzvâres Grammar' of F. Spiegel (Wien, 1856), preserved in the 'Asiatic Museum and Institute for Oriental Studies', which formerly belonged to M. Haug, some explanations having a particular value are marked in the owner's handwriting on pp. 35-36.

In this passage, after relating the traditions as to the origin of the Persian alphabet, and after enumerating, in the words of Ibn-al-Muqaffa', the languages and dialects of the population of the Sasanian state, an-Nadīm, gives a note from the same author on the several kinds of this script. According to him these writings are of seven kinds: 1) *Din-dipîrîh*, دین دیر, "religious writing". This reading was proposed by Quatremère and is

1. See 'Balâzurî', ed. De Goeje, 300.

2. Formerly this passage was explained by E. Quatremère in 'Journal des Savants', 1840, 414-416 and by F. Lenormant in 'Journal Asiatique', VI, 1865, 197-201.

confirmed in the 'Kitâb-at-tanbîh' of Mas'ûdî¹. This was the hieratic writing of the Holy Scripture, the Avesta. 2) *Vîsh-dipîrîh*, ویش دیره, "writing having many letters," an alphabet of 365 letters, used only in the works on the magical sciences². In the time of the author of the 'Fihrist', this writing was not used in Persia and was not known even to the clergy. According to Haug, it is probably the Assyro-Babylonian Cuneiform script. 3) *Kustij*³, الكتيج, correctly understood by an-Nadîm, "epigraphical writing." According to Lenormant, "epigraphical alphabet of Pahlavi." This alphabet was of 28 letters and used for official purposes, for engraving on stones, on the coins, in the inscriptions on the webs, and in the embroidery on the dress⁴. 4) *Nim-kustij*, نیم کستج, "the half-kustij," also of 28 letters and used in the works on medicine and philosophy. An-Nadîm explains that this name has probably its origin in the fact that the letters of this alphabet were doubly finer than the usual *kustij*. In practice these two kinds of writing were probably mixed up. In the Geographical Dictionary of Yâqût, II, 887⁵, it is related that in Risahr, in the Sasanian time, there lived those who knew the جستق, *justiq*, writing, who wrote, with this alphabet, the medical, astrological and philosophical books. This script is named *kustij*, but the books written in it have a greater relation to the

1. 'Bibl. Geogr. Arab.', VIII, 91-92, transl. of B. Carra de Vaux, 133-134.

2. 'Fihrist', I, 314 and II, 155. (Cf. my 'Materialy iz arabskich istočnikov dlja kulturnoj istorii Sasanidskoj Persii', 1907, 71, n. 2, in Russian.

3. P. Horn, 'Grundriss der neupersischen etymologie', 191.

4. It is the Arabic *tirâz*, طراز, which already existed in Sasanian Persia. See my 'Materialy', 5 and 31.

5. Cf. 'Fihrist', II, 105.

books which, according to the 'Fihrist', were written in the *nîm-kustij*. Ibn-al-Faqîh¹, whilst relating the inscription on the rock near Hamadân, has named this script کشتج, *kushtij*, but the contents of this inscription are ethical; it is perhaps due to a misunderstanding on the part of the author. 5) *Shâh-dipîrîh*, شاه دبیره, "royal script," not known to the people. The people used the Syrian alphabet with Persian reading; this alphabet was of 33 letters and was named *nâme-dipîrîh*, نامه دبیره, or *ham-dipîrîh*, هام دبیره, "letter writing," "short-handed writing." 6) *Râz-dipîrîh*, راز دبیره, "secret writing." The number of letters in this script was 40 and it was written without ligatures. According to Haug, it was probably the Persian Cuneiform alphabet. 7) *Râs-dipîrîh*, راس دبیره, the script for writing books on logic and philosophy, containing 42 letters. This was the "scientific writing" in the strict sense.² According to Haug, this is probably the Syrian script.

These notices of Ibn-al-Muqaffa' we find partly in other sources. We have said that Mas'ûdî, in his 'Kitâb-at-tanbih', also mentions the seven kinds of writing, and amongst them the "religious script," and besides this the script named by him as consisting of 160 letters³. According to Haug, it is probably the Pahlavi writing with all ligatures⁴.

Besides the 'Fihrist', we have further a mention of the seven scripts, used in Sasanian Persia for the registers of different kinds, in the encyclopædia entitled 'Mafâtih-

1. 'Bibl. Geogr. Arab.', V, 243-244.

2. *Horn*, 135. Pahlavi *râs* = Persian *rah*, "way"; therefore, it means "reason", "intellect."

3. Perhaps the name of this script can be read کسان دبیره, *Kasân-dipîrîh* (not کشت دبیره), "common writing."

4. "Pehlvischrift mit allen ligaturen".

al-'ulûm' of Al-Khwârazmî, the author of the tenth century¹. This passage describing the seven scripts and the chapter on all the words which occur frequently in the history of Persia were re-edited and translated with detailed notes by J. M. Unvala². This description occurs in the sixth section of the sixth chapter of this work, where after explaining some words separately and after the enumeration of the languages and dialects of Persia resembling the enumeration of Ibn-al-Muqaffa' in the 'Fihrist'³, the author enumerates the scripts and he translates the names of these scripts into Arabic. This enumeration is as follows:— 1) *Dâd-dipîrîh*, داد دڤیره, "judicial writing," 2) *Shahr-hamâr-dipîrîh*, شهر همار دڤیره, "the writing of the land-assessment account," 3) *Kade-humâr-dipîrîh*, کده همار دڤیره, "the writing of the account of the possessions of the crown," 4) *Ganj-hamâr-dipîrîh*, گنج همار دڤیره, "the writing of the register of the treasures," 5) *Âhur-hamâr-dipîrîh*, آهر همار دڤیره, "the writing of the register of the stables," 6) *Âtash-hamâr-dipîrîh*, آتش همار دڤیره, "the writing of the accounts of the fire-temples," 7) *Ravânegân dipîrîh*, روانگان دڤیره, "the writing of the pious foundations."

We see that the description of Khwârazmî principally relates the different writings in the Sasanian 'chancellerie,' whereas the passage in the 'Fihrist' acquaints us with the scripts used in religious and scientific works and in inscriptions and correspondence. These official writings undoubtedly existed in the Islamic period and were used by the Sasanian

1. Ed. G. Van Vloten, especially 117-118

2. 'Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute,' No. 11, 1928, 76-111, especially 80 and 91-92.

3. Besides the 'Fihrist' and Khwârazmî, we find a description of the characteristics of the languages and dialects of Persia also in Maqdisî and in the Geographical Dictionary of Yâqût in the words of Hamza Isfahânî.

clerks in their papers¹. These writings can be classified from the contents of the documents which were written. In the first place we have the script in which the judicial papers were written; in its character it must be distinguished from the six others destined principally for financial documents; for this reason, in the name of this script the word *hamâr*, همار, "number," "quantity," is not mentioned. The next two scripts can be placed in one category, as they relate to the financial affairs of the state², in which land-assessment and possessions of the crown are mentioned. The terms used to express these concepts in the Persian and Arabic languages are interesting. The Persian *Shahr*³ has the same significance as the Arabic *balad*, and the Persian *kade*⁴ can be identified with the Arabic *dâr-al-mulk*. The fourth and the fifth scripts are closely related to the treasures and the stables and to their registers, and present the lists of the possessions of the palace. The sixth and the seventh writings are related to the documents of the clergy, the most powerful class of the Sasanian state, to the accounts⁵ of the temples of fire and to the possessions of the church not dispossessed. The difference between these was probably the same as between *Shahr* and *kade* mentioned above.

As the Sasanian forms of the 'chancellerie' existed in the Islamic period, the influence of the Pahlavi

1. For the clerks in the Sasanian times, see *Th. Nöldeke*, 'Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden', 445, and *A. Christensen*, 'L'empire des Sassanides', 38 suiv.

2. For the incomes, cf. *Nöldeke*, 354-355 and 377; for the finances, cf. *Christensen*, 56 suiv.

3. For *shahr* and *balad*, see *Nöldeke*, 445, n. 2 and cf. *Christensen*, 45, n. 2.

4. Persian *kad-khudâ*, "the ruler of the house," was also the title of the Sasanian king.

5. For the word حسابات cf. *R. Dozy*, 'Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes', I, 285.

writing on the development of the Arabic alphabet in Persia is unquestionable. This fact has already been noticed in the literature¹; a characteristic mark of this influence is, for instance, the direction of the letters from the right hand on the top to the left below. It is indubitable that, in the Islamic period, owing to the great influence of the Sasanian modes, there existed the registers mentioned above and the difference in the writings of these registers and the other different forms of writing. We name, for instance, the writing *thulûth*, ثلوث, the letters of which are threefold thicker than the usual writing, the principle of which is the same as of the script *nîm-kustij* or that related in the 'Fihrist' by the name of *nâme*, which up to this time is designated *ta'liq*, تعليق, the writing most loved by the Persian calligraphers.²

1. 'Encyklopädie des Islam', 408.

2. I wish to add here two supplementary notes to those written by me twenty-five years ago, so as to clear up my mistakes. In my work on 'the Persian literary tradition in the first centuries of Islam', printed in the 'Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences de Russie, classe hist. phil.', VIII série, Vol. VIII, No. 13, p. 8, in the second edition in the Sasanian Essays, p. 8-9, and in the English translation of G. K. Nariman, 'Iranian influence on Moslem literature', p. 19-21: 1) A fortified castle is mentioned on the authority of Istakhri and Ibn-Hauqal, the name of which is designated قلعة الجص and which I had translated "the castle of Jiss"; but it ought to have been translated "the castle of plaster" (le gypse), because this is the significance of the word جص, it is not a proper name. 2) On the authority of the glossary to the 'Bibl. Geogr. Arab.', IV, 182-183, and of the Lexicon of Vullers, I translated the word *bâdguzârât*, بادگذارات, as "those who know the tradition". The late Cl. Huart has doubted the existence of such a word in the Press. For this writing not sufficiently clear in the text G. Hoffmann ('Auszüge aus syrische Akten persischer Märtyrer', 294) has proposed the better known word, یادکارات, *yadkârât*, from یادگار, in the sense of "memoirs of the past," "notes of the past doings". With these corrections, though not essential for the general understanding of the text, but necessary for correct exegesis, I further note a slip of the pen in the English translation: Šāpūr I had defeated, not the emperor Valentinian or Valentine, but Valerian.

THE RIVER OF IRAN-VEJ IN PARSI TRADITION

By C. INOSTRANTSEV

[An abstract prepared by Mr. W. Ivanow from the 'Bulletin of the Russian Academy', 1917, pp. 891-895.]

Mr. Inostrantsev supports his point of view concerning the location of *Îrân-Vêj* in the east of *Îrân* and not in *Âdharbâyjân*. As he says, he was inclined, in his earlier works, to locate it in the territory of the 'Scythians' or the Sakas, from the boundaries of India to the Caspian and the Aral steppes. According to his idea, it is not so very important to find definite indications as to its location as to discover indirect and so-to-say "unconscious" allusions to it, free from deliberate perversions introduced in later times.

The *Bundahisn* (XX, 13 seq.) mentions this river along with other rivers belonging exclusively to the eastern *Îrân*, and this fact may suggest that it must also be sought in that part of the country. W. Geiger had tried to identify this river *Dâitik* of *Îrân-Vêj* either with *Syr-Dariâ* or the upper *Zarafsân*.

Immediately next to the river of *Îrân-Vêj*, the *Bundahisn* (XX, 14) mentions the river *Dargâm*. Geiger, following *Tomaschek*, thought that it was the same as a passage of the *Zarafsân* near *Samarkand*, which is still called *Dargâm*. But in the accounts of the early Arab geographers this passage is called *Bars*.

The Arabs mention a district of the same name, called *Dargham*, in *Sughd*. There is also a town in *Khwarizm* called *Dargân*. The difficulty as to the

final *n* instead of *m* is just like that of the short *a* instead of the long *â* in the former case.

But these early Arab geographers also mention a river *Dirghâm*, not a district, having exactly the same name as this: see Ibn Khurdâdbeh, Ibn al-Faqîh and Ibn Rusta. It is the river of Badakhsân, now called *Kokeha*, a tributary of *Panj*, which is called *Wakhkhâb* or *Jaryâb* by the Arabs. This name is possibly very old and it may be the same as the river *Dargâmonis* of Ptolemy.

If thus the river *Darghâm*, mentioned in the *Bundahishn*, really belonged to Badakhsân,—and this is quite probable,—we may look for the river of *Îrân-Vêj* also somewhere near by. Mr. Inostrantsev suggests that it must be the same as the river *Panj* or *Âmû-dariâ* in its upper part.

Mr. Inostrantsev refers to the remark in the *Bundahishn* regarding this river of *Îrân-Vêj* that it is full of noxious creatures; what they were, it is not stated here. Mr. Inostrantsev connects this remark with the well-known myth of the ants guarding and digging gold, mentioned as early as in the work of Herodotus (III, 102-105) and read by many scholars. The gold mines of *Wakhân* and *Badakhsân* are frequently mentioned in the eastern literature with various fantastic details. The inhabitants of these mythical gold fields are called *Dards* by Strabo. The same name is given to them in the *Mahâbhârata*. This people, as is known, lived near *Wakhân*, in the region of the Upper Oxus.

What were these “ants”? Were they real ants or a species of rodents living in families like ants, who could throw the sand containing gold out of their holes, or was the term “ant” merely a surname of the people?

It is difficult to decide. But as the ants were regarded as very noxious creatures by the early Zoroastrian authors, it is quite possible that the author of the Bundahisn, referring to the vile beasts abounding in the river of Îrân-Vêj, must have had exactly these ants in view. If so, the problem of the location of Îrân-Vêj can be solved. This country must be the same as the inaccessible hill tracks of Badakhsân, Wakhân, Sughn and other localities situated on the Upper Oxus river.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL SCHEME OF THE ORIENT

BY C. INOSTRANTSEV

(Translated from the Russian by Dr. Olaf Hansen)

The expressions : 'Orient,' 'Oriental people,' 'Oriental languages,' though covering a wide range, are nevertheless connected with the idea which, from a general point of view, needs no explanation as a result of certain historically developed ideas. As a matter of fact the main point is not the expression, but the more or less distinct idea which the expression forms in the human mind. Though this expression is basically geographical, it is not possible to draw fixed limits from the geographical point of view. According to some specialists, the expression covers all the area between the Behring straits, the Adriatic shore of the Balkan peninsula, and the African coast of the Atlantic Ocean respectively, between North Siberia and the Cape of Good Hope. One of the greatest geographers and ethnographers calls the New World "the utmost east of the populated world." The author of these lines does not intend to press these expressions into a narrow frame although they might then correspond to the assumed general idea.

The expression, as already said, is a geographical one and as such the word 'Orient' is closely connected with the rising of the sun. From the standpoint of the specialists-geographers, however, it is in a particular relation to the meridian. This relation, of course, is based on general agreement. From the standpoint of the geographical scheme, one has to take notice of the history of this assumed line from which

geography reckons the degrees of longitude. The ancient geography reckoned the degrees from the utmost western end of the old world, from the western shores of Africa, which method is also identical with the modern reckoning, the meridian of Ferro. The European as well as the Arabian geographers of the middle ages followed the same principles. Only with some of the old Arabian geographers we find another meridian, and that quite exceptionally: it is the meridian of the Oriental peoples, especially of the Indians, called the meridian of Udyâna (Ujayini) after the name of a town in Central India; this is the 'Qabbatu'l-Uzain,' "the dome of Udyâna," of the Arabian geographers, and the Cubbet-al-Arin in the Latin alteration (really a mistake in writing) of the middle ages. Udyâna is situated on the 93rd degree of eastern longitude; and as even the eastern nations themselves reckoned all the area east of this meridian as the Orient, we could take this meridian as the eastern boundary of our Orient. If we bisect the area between the 1st and the 93rd degree, regarding the first part as the West and the second as the East, the dividing line being the $46^{\circ} 50'$ degree, west of this line is situated the assumed West, and east of it the assumed East. Having thus determined the eastern and the western limits, we have to fix also the southern and the northern ones. Then we have a quadrangle comprising the assumed eastern (oriental) and western countries. It is very easy to fix the expression south: south—are all countries having equal nights and days, which are situated between the tropics. If the distance equal to the distance between the tropics is adjusted from the northern pole, we get, according to the results given to me by a specialist-geographer, $43^{\circ} 50'$ of northern latitude. Thus we have the searched for quadrangle. Places included therein we can easily find out on any map.

Those countries which we can unite under the general name "Orient" are accordingly as follows: Asia Minor, Egypt (up to the tropic), Syria, Palestine, Northern Arabia, Armenia, Kurdistan, Caucasus, Mesopotamia, Persia, Western Turkestan, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and the extreme North-west of India. All these are countries really regarded as the Orient (east) in the literal meaning of the word at the time this expression was formed, *i.e.*, in the ancient epoch when the ancients formed geographical expressions. (I remember on this occasion the word Levante). Interesting is the following determination of a scholar of religious history: Buddhism became the religion of the Far-East, Islam remained the religion of the East (Orient). In the opinion of the most modern historian of Asia, the Pamir (and, I may add, also the above mentioned geographical longitude of it) divides Asia into two parts, likely two different worlds which have little contact. With the above mentioned restrictions and only from the standpoint of the geographical scheme, it is possible to say that in this way the expression can be determined in its original meaning. In this connection it is possible to make a distinction between Orient and Asia (I remember the Assyrian word 'asu', meaning "rise," "east", which is the source of the word Asia) and expressions connected therewith with regard to the languages, the history, the material remains or other topics of Asia and the Orient.

A CRYPTOGRAM OF KHAYYAM

By C. INOSTRANTSEV

A mistake of the late B. Dorn, in his Catalogue of the MSS. of the Public Library, has been found. He has marked as 'Marâkhiîâ' the name of Omar Khayyâm, author of the Quatrains, the celebrated Persian poet, mystic and mathematician. This misunderstanding was due to the very complicated way of writing the cryptograms. The second half of the word, especially the last letter *mîm*, was written above the first half, and the end of the second half was read $\text{yâ} = \text{yâ}$ by the author of the Catalogue making up the whole as مراخبا , 'Marâkhiîâ'. We know that the correct reading was found out afterwards. It is interesting to note that in this writing of the poet's surname, there is something more than the usual calligraphy, a cryptogram.

We know that in the Islamic palæography, out of the benedictory formula, في (accusative of place: "in the place of compassion"), the word 'Muhammad' is evolved, by writing the first half of the word above the second. What an answer to the benediction! It is thus written محمد , the first letter *mîm* of the word is written from above, the *hâ* and the second *mîm* are in their proper place, and the final *dâl* is made up of *râ* and *alif*, the *tashdîd* being taken as understood.

In the case of 'Marâkhiîâ,' not the first but the second half of the word is placed above and we have the form مراخبا , the end of the final letter *mîm*, which is also the end of the word, is not written as usual, but with the upper part slightly curved, a fact by which we are parti-

cularly inclined to see in this cryptogram not one letter, *mîm* only, but two letters, *mîm* and *râ*. Following the method adopted in deciphering the benedictory formula mentioned above, we take the letter *mîm*, standing above at the commencement of the cryptogram, as the first letter, the letters *khâ* and *yâ* may retain their places, and the *alif* and the end of *mîm* make up the letter *lâm*, ending the word. At the opening of the cryptogram we have thus the word *مُخَيِّل*, *mukhaiyil*, the *tashdid* being understood as certainly indicated by the *scriptio plena*.

This explanation will probably bring to an end the discussion as regards the excusable mistake of this revered scholar, so often mentioned, and it will show how the celebrated poet and free-thinker has received, owing to a mistaken reading of the cryptogram, the surname of "the visionary" (such is the signification of the word *مُخَيِّل*) from a decipherer more orthodox than he !

ASSYRIAN STONE-RELIEF INSCRIPTION IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, STOCKHOLM

THE STANDARD INSCRIPTION OF ASHUR-NASIR-PAL

BY G. L. MUNTHE

The photograph facing p. 64 and the translation given here of the Assyrian Stone Relief Inscription in the National Museum of Stockholm were forwarded by Mr. G. L. Munthe through Mr. Jamshedji Edalji Saklatwala to the late Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. The stone belonged to the palace of Ashur-Nasir-Pal in Nimrud, near Nineveh. There is a winged divinity standing between two holy trees, and a wedge-inscription, the so called standard inscription of Ashur-Nasir-Pal, at the lower part of the stones.—EDITOR.

(1) The palace of Ashur-Nasir-Pal, the priest of Ashur, the darling of Bêl and Ninit, the beloved of Anu and Dagan, the strong one among the gods, the mighty king, the king of hosts, the king of Assyria, the son of Tukulti Ninib, the great king, the mighty king, the king of hosts,

(2) the king of Assyria, the son of Adadnirari, the great king, the mighty king, the king of hosts, the king of Assyria; the valiant hero, who with the help of Ashur, his lord, proceedeth, and among the princes of the four quarters (of the world) hath not a rival; the wonderful shepherd,

(3) who feareth not the battle; the mighty flood who hath not an opponent; the king who hath brought to subjection those that were not subject unto him, and hath conquered all the hosts of men; the mighty hero, who hath trampled on

(4) the neck of his foes, and hath trodden down all enemies, and hath shattered the power of the strong; the king who with the help of the great gods, his lords, proceedeth, and whose hand hath captured all lands; who hath conquered all the highlands

(5) and hath received their tribute taking hostages and establishing might over all countries! When

(6) Ashur, the lord who called me by my name and hath made great my kingdom, entrusted his merciless weapon unto my lordly power, the wide-spread troops of the land of Lullumê

(7) I overthrew in battle. With the help of Shamash and Adad, the gods my helpers, over the troops of the lands of Nairi, and of Kirkhi, and of Shubarê, and of Nirib, like Adad,

(8) the destroyer, I thundered (I am) the king, who, from beyond the Tigris even to Mount Lebanon and the Great Sea, the whole of the land of Lakê and the land of Sukhi, together with the city of Rapibi, hath cast into subjection under his feet,

(9) and (the territory) from the source of the river Subuat even to the land of Urarti hath conquered with his hand (the region) from the pass of Kirruri even to the land of Gilzani, and from beyond the Lower Zab

(10) even to the city of Til-bâri, which is above the land of Zaban, and from the city of Til-sha-abtâni and the city of Til-sha-Zabdâni, and the cities of Khirmi and Kharutu, the fortresses

(11) of the land of Kurduniash, I have added unto the border of my land, and (the inhabitants of the countries from the pass of Babite even to the land of Khashmar I have reckoned as the peoples of my land. In the lands which I have conquered I have appointed my governors,

(12) and vassalage, and service (I have laid upon them). Ashur-Nasir-Pal, the exalted prince, the worshipper of the great gods, the courageous ruler, the conqueror of all cities and highlands, the king of lords, the consumer

(13) of the wicked, who is crowned with splendour, who feareth not the battle, the supreme, the merciless, the destroyer of opposition, the exalted king, the shepherd,



THE STANDARD INSCRIPTION OF ASHUR-NASIR-PAL.

the protector of the (four) quarters of the world, the king,
the word of whose mouth destroyeth mountains

(14) and seas, who by his lordly attack hath forced
mighty and merciless kings from the rising of the sun
unto the setting of the same to acknowledge one supremacy. The former city of Calah,

(15) which Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria who preceded
me, had built, that city had fallen into decay and lay
prostrate. That city I built anew, and the peoples whom
my hand had conquered from the lands

(16) which I had subdued, from the land of Sukhi, and
from the whole of the land of Lakê and from the
city of Sirku on the other side of the Euphrates, and
from all the land of Zamnia, and from Bit-Adini and the
land of Khatte,

(17) and from Lubarna of the land of Patini, I took
and I settled them therein. The ancient mound I altered
and I dug down to the level of the water, and for one
hundred and twenty measures into the depth

(18) I descended. A palace of cedar and a palace of
cypress, and a palace of juniper, and a palace of urka-
rinnu-wood, and a palace of miskannu-wood, and a palace
of pistachio wood, and a palace of tamarisk,

(19) for my royal dwelling and for my lordly pleasure
for ever I founded therein. And beasts of the mountains
and of the seas of white limestone

(20) and alabaster I fashioned, and in the gates there-
of I set them up, and I adorned it, and I made it glorious,
and with fastening bolts of bronze I secured it; and doors
of cedar and of cypress,

(21) and of juniper, and of miskannu-wood in the gates
thereof I fixed in place; and silver and gold and lead
and bronze, and iron, the spoil of my hand from the lands

(22) which I conquered, in great quantities I took and
I placed therein.

A LETTER OF ARTABAN III TO THE CITY OF SUSA

BY FRANZ CUMONT

[*Extrait des Comptes rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1932, p. 288 et seq.*]

Translated by Dr. Jamshed Manekji Unvala, Ph.D., (Heidelberg), Ancien Élève de l'École de Louvre, Paris.

Excavations on the southern extremity of the Royal City of ancient Susa, called the Dungeon by Mr. Dieulafoy, carried on by Mr. R. de Mecquenem, Director of the French Archæological Mission of Susiana since 1927, have brought to light the foundations of thick walls and courts of a big Sassanian edifice, in which large blocks of stone were freely employed. They appertained to constructions and sculptural monuments of earlier epochs of the history of Susa, mostly Achæmenian, Seleucid, and Parthian. Among them were fragments of bases of columns, some of them bearing trilingual cuneiform inscriptions of Darius I the Great, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes II Mnemon, and those of bas-reliefs of archers, of a griffon, and of a female slave carrying a duck, similar to the famous bas-reliefs of Persepolis, and those of monumental inscriptions, like the inscription concerning the construction of the palace of Darius I at Susa, all of them pertaining to an Achæmenian palace, and those of statues and Greek inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian epochs. Several fragments of inscriptions of the great Elamite conqueror Shutruk Nakhunte, about 1150 B.C., were also found there. Rev. Father V. Scheil, the eminent French Assyriologist, laid last week the

results of his studies of all these cuneiform inscriptions, embodied in the XXIVth volume of 'Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse', before the French 'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres'. We shall place before the Parsi community an excerpt of this volume with critical notes in the near future, as we have done in our Ancient Persian Inscriptions of the Achæmenides found at Susa, Paris 1929. We shall speak here only of Greek inscriptions, which, though fragmentary, are very interesting, as they reveal to us the little known history of Susa during the Parthian period, its civil administration and the religion of its inhabitants. We learn from them that during the first century of the Christian era Susa was subject to the Parthian King of Kings, who governed it through a satrap appointed by him, although the *boule* or the municipality of the city enjoyed a sort of self-government on the Greek basis. We know that the Parthian kings proudly called themselves *philhellenes* on their coins. This was not a vain title which they took. They were under the influence of the Greek civilisation which was introduced into the East with the conquest of Alexander the Great and which flourished there during the whole of the Seleucid period. They were in fact the continuators of the traditions of the Seleucids. This influence is better known as Hellenism in the history of the centuries which preceded and followed the Christian era. It has left its traces in lands as far apart from one another as Syria and India. Greek art and Greek literature flourished at the court of the Parthian kings, some of whom spoke Greek fluently like Vardanes I, and some even composed works in Greek like Orodes I. On the authority of Dio Cassius and Herodian we can say that Greek was employed in diplomatic intercourse between the Parthians and the Romans. It was the language of the Parthian

chancellery, as we know from the letter of Artaban III (10/11-40 A.D.) which is written in excellent Greek and with correct Greek legal terms. We know also that this philhellenism had cost some feeble kings their throne, and that it was this *xénophile* tendency of the later Parthians which had provoked the rebellion of Artaxerxes of Perses, Ardasir Bâbakân, against Artaban V, as the Parthian people always remained Iranian at heart. Further, we know from some recently discovered Greek inscriptions that Susa was practically a Greek city during the first century of the Christian era, and that it even boasted of a stadium which was a gift to the city from an athlete, as we learn from an inscription discovered at Susa this year. It had erected the famous temple to Nana or Nanaïa, the goddess of fertility and fecundity, who was worshipped there under her Greek name Artemis. Her brother Apollo also enjoyed a local cult. Apollo Toxophoros, *i.e.*, archer is represented on the reverse of a copper coin of Mithridates III, struck probably at Susa. This motive of the reverse is borrowed from the coins of Antiochos II of Syria. The statues of this divine pair were erected in temples, which contained immense treasures, distinct from those of the city and administered as at Doura-Eropos by a *gazophylax* or treasurer. Male and female slaves were consecrated by their masters to these deities for a definite period of thirty years, some even perhaps for life. Once consecrated they became irreclaimable either by their masters or by their descendants or by any person under any pretext whatsoever; if they were reclaimed the defaulter had to pay a fine of three thousand silver drachms to the treasury of the temples which enjoyed a financial autonomy. Marble and bronze statues of deserving citizens were erected in public places, and their names and praiseworthy works were inscribed on their pedestals.

After these introductory remarks we give below the letter of Artaban III and a summary of it and of other Greek inscriptions discovered at Susa in recent years. The letter of Artaban III was discovered, as it is said above, in the foundations of walls of a Sassanian edifice. It is inscribed on a rectangular block of limestone, broken at the right corner, whose actual size is 65 cm. long, 22 cm. high, and 16 cm. thick. It is the longest Greek inscription ever found at Susa, and even in the whole of Persia. It is a unique lapidary document directly connected with a Parthian king; and therein lies its importance. The size of letters varies between seven and four millimetres. The inscription is so neatly engraved that the artist signs it proudly, Leonidas, son of Artemon of Seleucia on the Eulaïos, i.e., Susa. The limestone block formed part of the pedestal of a bronze or marble statue of Hestiaïos Asios, erected by his father Demetrios in 25/26 A.D. in order to commemorate the confirmation of the election of the former as treasurer and one of the *archontes* or magistrates of Susa by Artaban III, the event which forms the subject of the letter in question. The following is a translation of the letter:

“Received in the year 268 according to the Royal Era, in the year 333 (= 21/22 A.D.) according to ancient era.

“The King of Kings Arsaces sends his greetings to Antiochos and Phraates, residing at Susa, to the magistrates and to the City;

“Considering that Hestiaïos, son of Asios, who is one of your citizens, and one of the first and the most esteemed friends, and one of the body-guards, having exercised the charge of treasurer in the year 329 (= 17/18 A.D.) according to the ancient reckoning, and having

behaved himself in this function correctly, and very justly, and with thorough integrity, not avoiding any personal expense in the expenditure incurred for the City ;

“ That twice during his magistrature the city having the necessity of sending an ambassador, he absented himself from the City, considering as of no consequence the care of his own affairs, and esteeming those of the City more important, and considering that, saving neither pains nor money he devoted himself without reserve to the first and to the second embassies, and having negotiated to the advantage of his native City he obtained appropriate honours, as the decree voted in his favour in the year 330 (= 18/19 A.D.) attest ;

“ That in the year 331 (= 19/20 A.D.), when there was need of an honest man, he was proposed as candidate for the same office for the year 332 (= 20/21 A.D.), and that after a prolonged *docimacie*, Petasos, son of Antiochos, who was elected *archontes* with Aristomenes, son of Philippe, presenting himself in the *boule* alleged that in virtue of the established laws (rules!) it was prohibited that he should occupy the same magistrature twice without leaving an interval of three years ;

“ But that the City having had the experience of his good intentions and remembering his administration of the above-mentioned office, decided to elect him as *archontes* and that in consequence he was elected for the year 332 (= 20/21 A.D.), which was of Petasos, son of Antiochos, and of Aristomenes, son of Philippe ;

“ Considering therefore that, in view of the facts cited above Hestiaios is unjustly accused, we judge that his election is valid, and that he should neither be wrongly prosecuted for occupying the same office without allowing an interval of three years, nor in virtue of any ordinance whatsoever, which might be produced in this matter, all

interdiction or inquest having been, in general, set aside, particularly that which was launched against him should be abrogated.

"The 17th day of Audnaïos 268 (= December 21).

"(Below) This statue of Hestiaïos Asïos, son of Demetrios, alias Eisagôgeus, is erected by his father in the year 337 according to the ancient reckoning (25/26 A.D.)

"Lénidas, son of Artemon of Seleucie on the Eulaïos (*i.e.*, Susa) has engraved this stone."

The King of Kings Arsaces (Artaban III) addresses this letter to Antiochos and Phraates, the satrap and the strategos, residing at Susa, to the *archontes* and to the *boule* or the municipality of the city of Susa, in the year 330 of the Seleucid era, corresponding to the year 268 of the Arsacid era, and to 21/22 A.D., in which he dismisses the charge of illegal tenure of the office of treasurer brought against Hestiaïos Asios, son of Demetrios, alias Eisagoras. Hestiaïos is not only a distinguished citizen of Susa, writes the King of Kings, but he is also one of the *protoi philoi*, *i.e.*, the most esteemed friends, and one of his body-guards. He was elected to the office of treasurer in 329 A. Sel. = 17/18 A.D., in which he distinguished himself by his honesty and integrity; he even contributed occasionally to the civic expenditure from his personal resources. Twice during his tenure of office he was entrusted with an embassy, which he, considering it his important duty towards his native city, willingly accepted, setting aside his own personal affairs and interest, and carried it to a successful end, sparing neither pains nor money. On his return to Susa he received appropriate honours from the city, as the decree voted in his favour in 330 A. Sel. = 18/19 A.D. attested. In 331 A. Sel. = 19/20 A.D., when the city required the

services of an honest man, he was again proposed as candidate for treasurership for 332 A. Sel. = 20/21 A.D. But after a long *dokimacia* or enquiry into the validity of the candidature, Petasos, son of Antiochos, who was elected *archontes* with Aristomenes, son of Philip, contested it in the *boule* on the ground that, according to the established laws of the city, Hestiaios could not occupy the same office twice without leaving an interval of three years between each tenure. Nevertheless the city elected him for the office for 332 A. Sel. = 20/21 A.D., as it had experienced his good intentions and able administration. Now, the King of Kings taking into consideration all these facts, declares the charge brought against Hestiaios to be unjust and confirms his election; further, he forbids bringing against him any charge whatsoever in virtue of the above-mentioned or any other law, and stops all legal action that might have been already taken against him. This royal letter is dated the seventeenth day of the month of Audnaïos of the year 268 of the Arsacid era, corresponding to the 21st of December 21/22 A.D.

This letter is very important, as it shows us the civil administration of Susa during the little known Parthian epoch. Like Seleucia and Doura-Eropos Susa had also a *boule* which had the right to propose candidates for magistrature. The magistrates who bore the title of *archontes* formed a directorate with executive powers. One of them was the treasurer. A magistrate could not be re-elected, unless there was an interval of three years between two successive tenures of office. The King of Kings was staying at his winter residence of Ctesiphon in the month of Audnaïos, when the *epistates*, who was appointed commissioner by him for controlling the municipal administration of Susa, laid before him the case of Hestiaios. The *psephisma* or decree voted by the *boule* was attached to it. The

king gives his above-mentioned decision on the legal question quite arbitrarily, as the Cæsars did before him by their *epistulae*. In this he shows himself very energetic, a trait of character attributed to him by historians. Moreover, this letter confirms Strabo who says that during his time—commencement of the first century A.D.—the district of Susiana was directly subject to the Parthians, whereas the mountainous region of the Elymaïs was a vassal state. Another important fact is the mention of two eras side by side, the Seleucid era or as it is called here the ancient era, beginning with autumn, 1st of October 312 B.C., and the Arsacid era or the royal era, beginning with spring 248/7 B.C., as on the Pahlavi parchment from Avroman. Further, the names of the persons mentioned in this letter are Greek and Macedonian.

Other Greek inscriptions discovered in the foundations of the walls and courts of the Sassanian edifice appertained to the temple of Artemis-Nanaïa, as their contents show. One inscription was engraved on the pedestal of a statue of Apollo, which was consecrated to the god by Chereas, and was placed probably in the temple of Artemis, his twin-sister. It was a local work of art. The god was represented as he appeared to Antigona, wife of Chereas, in a dream in order to save her and her daughter Clio from some danger.

We have said above that male and female slaves were consecrated to Nanaïa, the goddess of fertility and fecundity, for a specific period of thirty years. The following inscription of the time of Mithridates I proves this custom: In the year 171 A. Sel. = 142/141 B.C., in the month ... Straton, son of Simias, has consecrated to the goddess Nanaïa Kan ... his young female servant upto the period of thirty years for the welfare of the

king and the queen, and that it is not permitted that either Straton or anybody else in his place should reclaim or sell the above-mentioned slave under any pretext whatever. If he does this, his action is not valid, and he should pay three thousand silver drachmes as fine to the temple of Nanaia. Another inscription says that Eulaios, son of Olympios, had consecrated his slave Scorpion to Nanaia in the time of Antiochos IV Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.) in the fulfilment of a vow taken for the welfare of King Antiochos and Queen Laodice. Another inscription of the time of Mithridates I is of a similar nature. The absence of the Arsacid date on these two inscriptions shows that the authority of the Parthians was not recognised at Susa which remained faithful to its native kings during the second century B.C. Finally, it is interesting to note that the legal formula of the consecration of slaves is the same as that which was prevalent in ancient Babylonia.

GIFT OF ARTICLES OF ANTIQUITY EXCAVATED AT SUSAN BY M^R. R. DE MECQUENEM

BY DR. JAMSHED M. UNVALA, PH.D.,
Ancient Élève de l'École de Louvre, Paris

[It is to be regretted that Dr. Jamshed Manekji Unvala's letter dated the 15th September, 1932 and the list prepared by him of articles presented by M^r. R. de Mecquenem remained unpublished upto now. The articles are given as a loan to the Prince of Wales Museum until the time that a Parsi Museum comes into existence.—EDITOR]

M^r. R. de Mecquenem, head of the French Mission, under whose kind guidance Dr. Jamshed Manekji Unvala has worked for four winter-seasons at Susa, has kindly presented to the Parsi Community about 134 articles of antiquity, some of which were excavated by Dr. Unvala. They are deposited for the present in the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, which, I think, will be very glad to transfer them to a Parsi Museum when started in future in Bombay. At my request, Dr. Unvala has kindly prepared a list of these articles. I beg to thank Dr. Unvala for kindly complying with my request. I hope that the list will interest archæologists and antiquarians. I take this opportunity to thank M^r. R. de Mecquenem for this presentation and for the presentation made about five years ago. As I had the pleasure and the good fortune to collect funds to send Dr. Unvala to France for archæological studies, I take this opportunity to thank M^r. R. de Mecquenem for his kindness in giving all the necessary help to Dr. Unvala in his studies and in his practical work of excavation. With these few words of thanks, I give here Dr. Unvala's account and list of the articles.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,

*Bombay,
20th September, 1932.*

Editor.

[Dr. J. M. Unvala's letter to Dr. Jivanji
Jamshedji Modi]

*Mariampura,
Navsari, 15th September, 1932.*

To

SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,
SHAMS-UL-ULAMA, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.,
209, HORNBY ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your letter of the 29th August 1932 I beg to send you herewith a list of 134 objects presented this year by M^r. R. de Meequenem to the Parsi Community from archaeological finds made at Susa. I have grouped them according to the periods to which they appertained, following therein M^r. de Meequenem, and mentioned the materials of which they are made. The grouping under few heads, *e.g.*, 1) lamps, 2) figures, 3) cups, etc., as you have proposed in the above-mentioned letter is not practicable, 1) as in that case it would be necessary to mention the date of every object individually, and 2) as there would be no end of groups, because the objects are many and various. The numbers mentioned in this list correspond to those marked in pencil on every object; in the case of fragments the numbers are marked on the paper in which they are wrapped. The numbering was made hastily two days before the anniversary of the late Mr. K. R. Cama, while I was unpacking the three boxes of antiquities.

Now as regards the provenance of these objects, those mentioned in the groups I and III were discovered

on the Tell of the Acropolis, that mentioned in the group II on the Tepe Jafarabad, situated five miles to the north-west of Susa, those mentioned in the groups IV-IX on the Tell of the Royal City, and those mentioned in the groups X-XII in the City of Artisans.

The seven bricks (Nos. 1-7) of Elamite kings record in Babylonian foundations of temples and sanctuaries in Susa dedicated to In-Shushinak, the chief god of the Elamites and the tutelary god of Susa. They are published by Rev. Father V. Scheil in the 'Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse.' The objects pertaining to the Arab period were discovered in houses excavated in the so-called Arab City, a suburb of ancient Susa, situated to its east. The fragments of bowls and plates (Nos. 112-124) and glass dishes and phials (Nos. 73-77) were discovered in drainage-wells. All other objects pertaining to different periods of the history of Susa were discovered in tombs. They were used as funeral furniture—*mobilier funéraire*:—vases, bowls, and cups contained probably food and drink for the dead; lamps lighted their way to the other world; stone, copper, and iron weapons belonged to warriors and were buried with them in their graves; similar is the case of articles of toilet and personal ornaments; the fact that terracotta figurines are always discovered in tombs of children would explain their use as toys rather than as votive objects or as objects of cult. The big goblets of the period Susa I (Nos. 8-9) were discovered in the funeral tumulus on the south-west extremity of the Tell of the Acropolis. They were used as receptacles for big bones at the time of the second burial of the dead. Finally it is interesting to note that all objects pertaining to the Sassanian period were found in 'astōdān's discovered in 1931 and 1932 in the City of Artisans.

LIST OF ANTIQUITIES
PRESENTED BY M^r. R. DE MECQUENEM
TO THE PARSI COMMUNITY
IN 1932

GROUP I

Susa I dated about 4000 B.C.

No.	8	Fragments of a big goblet	paint	terra cotta
"	9	"	"	"
"	10	small cup	"	"
"	11	small krater	"	"
Nos.	90-91	figurines of birds	"	"
"	127	fragments of a big vase	red	terra cotta
"	130	fragments of a big plate	"	"
"	23	big axe	white	sand-stone

GROUP II

Susa I bis roughly dated about 3500 B.C.

No.	126	fragments of a vase from Tepe Jafarabad	paint	terra cotta
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GROUP III

Susa II dated about 3000 B.C.

No.	13	small vase	paint	terra cotta
"	14	fragment of a small vase	"	"
"	12	cylindrical vase	"	"
"	97	head of a bull forming spout of a vase	"	"
"	15	fragment of a small vase	black	stone
"	16	fragment of a small cup	aragonite	
"	17	small krater	"	
"	24	bowl	"	
"	18	mace-head	black	stone
"	19	"	red	"
"	20	"	grey	"

No. 21	head of a staff	reddish stone
" 22	small axe	black polished stone
" 25	big lozenge bead	aragonite
" 26	whorl not pierced	"
" 27	whorl	black stone
" 133-134	whorls	terra cotta

GROUP IV

Dynasty of Simat about 2500-2300 B.C.

No. 93	handle of a vase with a human bust roughly designed in low relief	terra cotta
" 28	mirror	copper
" 29	sickle	"
Nos. 30-31	poniards	"

GROUP V

Hammurabi 2050 B.C.

No. 32	vase	red slip terra cotta
Nos. 78-83	female figurines	" "

GROUP VI

Elamite XVIth to IXth century B.C.

No. 1	brick of Kuk-Kirpiash	
" 2	" " Kutir-Nakhunte	
" 3-4	bricks of Untash-Gal	
" 5-6	" " Shutruk-Nakhunte	
" 7	brick of Addapakshu	
" 33	globular vase	terra cotta
" 34	small vase—broken	" "
" 35	twin vases	" "
" 36	dish	" "
" 37	saucer	" "
" 104	fragments of a bowl	" "
" 84-85	female figurines	" . .

Nos. 86-87	figurines of musicians	terra cotta
" 88-89	fragments of toy beds with a couple	" "
" 92	figurine of a bull	" "
" 98	rattle	" "
" 38	handle of an instrument	aragonite
" 69	bracelet	copper
" 103	fragments of a cup	"

GROUP VII

Neo-Babylonian 840-640 B.C.

Nos. 39-43	small vases	glazed terra cotta
" 125	fragments of a vase	" " "

GROUP VIII

Achæmenian

No. 99	mystic eye of Horus or <i>Ujâ</i>	glazed terra cotta
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GROUP IX

Greek

Nos. 105-106	fragments of a lamp and a vase with designs in red on black polished surface	terra cotta
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GROUP X

Parthian

No. 44	pitcher--broken	terra cotta
" 94	head of a female figurine	" "
" 95	fragment of a male figurine	painted terra cotta
" 60	fragment of a small vase	alabaster

GROUP XI

Sassanian

Nos. 45-49	big vases	glazed terra cotta
" 54	big water-bottle	" " "

No.	55	small flat water-bottle	glazed terra cotta
"	107-111	fragments of vases	" " "
"	128	fragments of vases	" " "
"	56-58	lamps	" " "
"	129	fragments of bowls	red " "
"	131	fragments of a vase with engraved designs	black terra cotta
"	50-53	big vases	terra cotta
"	59	lamp	" "
"	102	lamp	" "
"	96	head of a figurine of a horse	" "
"	100-101	bowls	fine " "
"	132	triangular support for vases	" "
"	63	poniard	iron
"	72	arrow-head	copper

GROUP XII

Arab

Nos.	112-124	fragments of bowls and plates with floral and geometric designs	glazed terra cotta
"	61-62	pitchers	" " "
"	64	pitcher with lid	copper
"	65	lid of a pitcher with chain	"
"	66	handle of a pitcher	"
"	67	lamp	"
"	68	cup	"
"	70	fragment of a spoon	"
"	71	small bell	"
"	73	small dish	glass
"	74-77	phials	"

ZARATHUSTRA OR YUDHIṢṬHIRA— WHICH IS THE COPY ?

BY JAINATH PATI

When about the beginning of the year 1915, Dr. Spooner started the theory of a Parsi invasion of Behar, and in the course of the discussion, brought together the names of Yudhiṣṭhira and the Persian prophet Zarathustra, the similarity in the sounds of the names, led me to investigate the question of any suspected connexion between the two. I found that their traditional biographies had many details identical in them. For example :

(i) Zarathustra was a worshipper of Ahura (Sk. Asura) and so might be said to belong to the tribe known to Indians as Asuras in the Vedic and Puranic literature. Yudhiṣṭhira was also connected with the Asuras through his female ancestors : Devyâṇi, the daughter of Śukrâcârya, the high-priest of the Asuras, and Śarmiṣṭhâ, the daughter of the Asura king. Later this connexion was found to be still closer. Śukrâcârya's ancient name was Kavi Uśanas, who had long before been found to be identical with Kava Usa (later form Kai-Kaus) of Persia. He is there known as a great ancient king, having blood-connexion with Zarathustra's ancestors.

(ii) Both were known to have descended from one Puru (Iranian original form 'Pourus').

(iii) Both had five brothers.

(iv) Both could talk and understand the Mlecṣa tongue (MBh, I, 148 ch.)¹.

(v) Zarathustra was a pupil of one Burzin-Kurus (the Great Kurus?), whom Pliny knew as Agnaces

1. The abbreviations are explained at the end.

(Azonaces), (Sk. Angiras?), while Yudhiṣṭhira was a Kuru himself and the pupil of Angiras Droṇâcârya.

(vi) Both were known in their younger days to have been attempted to be burnt alive but saved miraculously.

(vii) The names of the friends and enemies of both were found to be similar. Mâdhava-Kṛṣṇa-candra of Yudhiṣṭhira = Maidyoi-mâonh (= Madhyamâs) of Zarathuṣtra (= middle-moon = dark-moon = Sk. Kṛṣṇa-candra); Duryodhana, Duṣṣâsana of Yudhiṣṭhira, comparable to Dussasti, Durâsrôb (or Durâsrûn) of Zarathustra.

(viii) Both were famous for their strict regard for truth.

(ix) While the followers of Zarathustra had and still have the greatest regard for the dog, Yudhiṣṭhira would refuse to enter heaven without the dog.

(x) The religions of both were anti-Vedic; that of Zarathustra as represented by his Gâthâs and to some extent the later Avesta; while Yudhiṣṭhira, being known to have been a follower of Kṛṣṇa, must be taken to be a Bhâgvat. (Bhagvatism or Pañcrâtra was originally an anti-Vedic religion.¹) Even the much syncretic and therefore diluted form of his faith as preserved to us in the Bhagvad-gîtâ (the Song of Bhaga, the Lord Asura of the Parsis) has unconcealed flings at the followers of the Vedic religion:—

Yânimâm puṣpitâṁ vâcam pravadantya vipaścitaḥ
Veda-vâda-ratâḥ Pârtha “nânyadastî”ti vâdinah, 42

* * * * *

Trai-gunya-viśyâ vedâ nistraigunyo bhav Ârjuna. 45
(ab)

(Gîtâ, II).

1. See Chanda, 'The Indo-Aryan Races,' p. 69.

"O Pârtha (Parthian?)¹ fools, addicted to Vedic discussions, talk glibly (in) dark and flowery phrases, (i. e.,) those-who-say, 'there is nothing beyond it (the Vedas)'"

*

*

*

"(As a matter of fact) the Vedas are materialistic, dealing with objects connected with the three guṇas (active, slothful and balanced states of the mind). You should be unthree-guṇaik, (a non-Vedist), O Arjuna!"

The transformation in Persia of God Indra into the demon Andra, compared with the victorious fight of

1 It is to be remembered that this suggestion in the bracket is supported by other facts. Pāṇḍu itself meaning white (Ind. Alt., I, 655 f. n. 1), śveta (Av. spaeta), directly connecting him with the surname, Spitamā, the greatest of the Spitas (?), of Zarathustra. Arjuna, another of the 'Whites', itself means white, and his other name Kirītīn, the wearer of a diadem, (Gītā, 11, 35) is not explicable through Sanskrit, but according to Lassen, being connected with the old Pers. Tiara, accords well with other Iranian affinities of these people. So are the names, Balhika, one of Yudhiṣṭhira's ancestors, Prthā, Yudhiṣṭhira's mother, Bahlikā, another possible name of Mādrī, Arjuna's stepmother, and Parāśavi (Ind. Alt. I, p. 685), Vidura's wife, i. e., the aunt of the Pāṇḍavas. It is in all this connection that we shall find further on that the religion of Kṛṣṇa (Pañcārātra) is said to have been imported from the White Island, near Meru (Merv) in Central Asia. This is called Śāka dvīpa in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa and the Govindpura Inscription without doubt referring to Scythia or the lands west of the Caspian Sea. (Ind. Alt. I, pp. 652-8). In this connection, further, are to be remembered the Gaurmukhas (the 'White-faced ones') of the Mahābhārata and the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa. In the former (I, 50) it is said that Parikṣit died because he insulted a mauna ṛṣi (another Parsi feature according to the Bhaviṣya P. (?)) of that name (see below pages 99f.) In the latter it is said that it was another (or the same?) ṛṣi of that name who gave the correct information regarding the Zoroastrians to Śāmba, Kṛṣṇa's son. These facts make me regard the ṛṣi to be a Zoroastrian. Kṛṣṇa's ensign was the Garuḍa (eagle); Viṣṇu is garuḍa-dhvaja. The ensign of the old Persian kings was also an eagle. "Garuḍa is represented ... as having a white face, an aquiline nose, red wings and a golden body" (Apte's Dictionary, p. 182), almost exactly like the representation of the frōhar (?) of Ahura Mazdā in the inscription of Darius. Garō-demāna is the seat of Mazdā (Gāthā, Y. 45, 8).

Kṛṣṇa (of the Purāṇas) with the unconquerable Indra of the R̥gveda, has too obvious implications to be passed over lightly.

(xi) In Irān, *baga* (Sk. *bhaga*) meant a god in general (in the Avesta as well as in the inscriptions of Darius). In India, (in the Vedic literature, particularly the R̥gveda,) it is the name of a particular god. Among the followers of Kṛṣṇa, we find the Iranian meaning as applied to him, and thereby to his religion, the Bhāgavad-dharma ; to his revelation, the Bhāgavad-gītā, and lastly to his followers, the Bhāgvatas. Compare the inscription on the famous Garuḍasthambha near Gwalior. It appears as though of the three synonyms, Ahura (asura), yazata (yajata), and *baga* (*bhaga*) the Kṛṣṇaites chose the least objectionable term 'baga' (Sk. *Bhaga*) to denote their Lord, to avoid as much the asura of hateful associations to the Indians, as the deva and yajata to the Zoroastrians of the first period of that faith. The suffix 'vat' was added, meseems, simply to distinguish Mādhava from the current name of the innocent god *Bhaga*, for I have shown elsewhere that Mazdāo is the Avestan etymological equivalent of Mādhavah, or may be, Mādhava is the loan form of the Iranian Mazdāo (LI.L, p. 201 fn., etc.). Anyhow the new meaning given to 'Bhaga' in 'Bhāgvat' presents now a different scene to me, a second cultural invasion of India by the Iranian Kṛṣṇa, the disciple of the Terrible Angiras, i.e., Zarathustra, referred to in the Chāndogya (iii. 17. 6).. Then it only showed the connection to be deeper.

(xii) The most decisive features of Kṛṣṇa's teachings, as much distinguishing them from the whole of the Vedic religion, including within it the teachings of the Upaniṣads (RPV, pp. 468-584), as identifying them with those of Zarathustra, are (i) their insistence on the necessity of the individual's performing right actions,

doing his duty and that as an offering to God, (ii) a belief in Avatâra and personal teaching by Him at a crisis of the world caused by evil, (iii) the utmost regard, verging on worship, shown to the cow, and (iv) the most important characteristic of Zoroastrianism, which distinguishes it even now from all other older systems of faiths and philosophies is its promulgation of the doctrine of duality as the explanation of evil in this world. This was originally a mental duality, 'mainyû' ("dual mentalities," Gâthâ, 30, 3), but later developed also into physical. Strangely enough, the same is found in Bhagvatism also. All these appear clear as daylight from the passages quoted below :—

(1)

ZARATHUSTRA'S	KṚṢṆA'S	OPPOSED TO VEDA'S
Yôî môî ahmâi se- raoṣem dâncayašcâ Upâ-jimen haurvâtâ ameretâtâ Vanhêus manyêus šyaôthanâis (Yas. 45, 5cde)	Yogastha kuru karmâni sangam tyaktvâ Dhanan- jaya, (Gîtâ, ii, 48ab) Do your duty, O Dhananjaya, esta- blished in yoga and renouncing attach- ment (mentally to the results).	"In the strict sense of the word there is no theory of ethics in the Brâhmanaliterature: the question of the nature of right action does not seem ever to have in any degree influ- enced the specu- lations of the curious spirits (the Brahmins)". * * * *
Those who render me obedience with the deeds of good mind, attain com- pleteness and im- mortality.	Yatkarosi yadašnâsi yajjuhoṣi dadâsi yat yattapasyasi Kaunteya taiṣku- ruṣva madarpaṇam Šubhâšubha phala- irevam mokṣyase karmabandhnaih Sanyâsyoga-yuktâ- tmâ vimukto mām	"The contrast here between In- dian and Iranian development be- comes marked. "Almost contem- poraneously, per- haps, with the development of
Yâ šyaôthanâ, yâ vacanâhâ, yâ yas- nâ * * * * Aêšâm tôi Ahurâ êhmâ pourutemâis dastê (Yas. 34, 1,ac)		

ZARATHUŠTRA'S

KṚṢṆA'S

OPPOSED TO
VEDA'S

With the deeds,
words, and sacrific-
es.

* * * *
(All these) are off-
ered by us among
the foremost to
Thee, O Lord!

upaiśyasi.

(ibid., 9,27-8.)

Whatever thou
doest, eatest, invo-
kest, or givest, or
austerities under-
goest.

Offer all of them
to Me, O Son of
Kuntī.

In this manner
wilt thou be freed
from good and bad
fruits as well as the
bondages of action.

Having thy soul
allied to Yoga of
Renunciation, thou
wilt reach Me,
being freed.

the t h o u g h t
of the Brāhma-
ṇas we find Zo-
roaster engaged
in deepening the
meaning of reli-
gion for the peo-
ple of Iran and
founding a reason-
ed, ethical
system." (Keith,
'Religion and Phi-
losophy of the
Vedas,' p. 468).

Again, "Incom-
parison with the
intellectual acti-
vity of the Brāh-
maṇas the ethi-
cal content of
the Upaniṣads
must be said to
be negligible and
valueless. * * *

"On the contra-
ry, the essential
fact is expressed
by Indra in his
dialogue with
Partardān: the
possession of
k n o w l e d g e
makes a man in-
dependent of all
m o r a l i t y, the
slaying of an em-
bryo, the murder
of a father or of
a mother." (ibid.,
pp. 584-5; Kauṣi-
taki Up. iii. i).
Though the fear

ZARATHUSTRA'S

KṚṢṆA'S

OPPOSED TO
VEDA'S

of sin is clearly expressed in the R̥gveda, the idea of duty as an offering to God is absent from the Vedic literature.

(2)

In Yasna 29 is described the deputation of Zarathustra in response to the supplication of the cow. Again,

Akêm akâi vañu-
him ašim vañ-
haövé
Thwâ hunarâ dâmôis
urvaêsê apêmê.
Yahmi spentâ thwâ
mainyû urvaêsê
jasô (Yas. 43.
5de, 6a.)

A bad (compensation) for the bad, and a good compensation for the good;

(Which is to occur) with Thy skill at the last crisis of creation;

At which crisis come Thou, O Mazdâ (mindful), with Thy Spenta Mainyu (bounteous

Paritrâpâya Sâdhu-
nâm vinâśâya
ca duṣkṛtâm,
Dharmasaṁsthâpa-
nârthâya saṁ-
bhavâmi yuge
yuge.
(Gîtâ, 4, 8.)

To save the righteous and to destroy the unrighteous, I become born in every age.

(It will appear that it is merely a paraphrase of the Yasna quoted on the left.)

There is nothing of the kind to be found in R̥v. In the Brâhmaṇas (RPV., 208) we have an approach to it only, but that not in human form or of future times, but legends merely of past ideas. The Gîtâ is said to be a symposium of the Upaniṣads and indeed in most parts it is.

On comparison, parallels for most ślokas have been found in the Vedic literature, but none for these radical teachings, the original of which are to be found in the Avesta.

ZARATHUSTRA'S

KṚṢṆA'S

OPPOSED TO
VEDA'S

mentality). (Guthrie's Translation).

(3)

Grêhmô * * *
gâus jaidyâi
mraôî (Yas. 32,
14ac)

"The Tormentor (the teacher of the opposite faith, Gao-temâ Âurunâ) declares that the cow is to be killed."

Zarathustra was besides deputed to save the cow from torments.

(Yas. 29.)

Gêus tašâ (the shaper of the cow) is a worshipful abstraction in the Gâthâs.

(Yas. 29, 2; 31, 9;
46, 9.)

(4)

Sraotâ gêușâis va-
histâ avaênatâ
sûcâ mananhâ
Âvarenâs vicithah-
yâ narêm narêm
hvaahyâi tanuyê

Kṛṣṇa is Gopâla, protector of the Cows, as also Goy-inda (Sk. Gaven-dra), Indra of the cows. (V.P.)

Yo yo yâm yâm
tanum bhaktah
śradhyârcintum-
icchati,
Tasyâ tasyâcalâm
śradhâm tâmeva

In the Rgveda (x, 85, 13c) aghâsu hanyante gâvâh, the cow is slain in the Ma-ghâ Nakṣatra (at the time of a marriage ceremony).

While Yajña-valkya, the pupil of Gautama Âruṇi ordered the killing of Vêhad vaișṇavah, To Vișṇu (is to be offered) a cow that has miscarried (Yajurveda, xxiv, i).

The cow was eaten by the followers of the Vedas down to the Sutra period (see V. I, ii, pp. 145-7; also Âpastamba-Gr. Sûtra (SBE), 1, 6, 17, 30.)

"It might however, have been expected that in the moral law of Varuṇa, which is the counterpart of the physical law recog-

ZARATHUSTRA'S

Parâ mazê yâonhô
ahmâi nê sazdyâi
baodañtô paitî.

(Yas. 30, 2.)

Tâ debnaotâ ma-
řim hujyâtôis
ameretâtascâ

Hyat vâo akâ manâñ-
hâ yêñg daêvêñg
akascâ mainyus

Akâ şyaothanem
vacanâ y â
fracinas dregvañ-
tem *khshayô*.

(Yas. 32, 5.)

A t tâ mainyû pou-
ruyê yâ yêmâ
hvafenâ asrvâtem

Manahicâ vacahi-
câ şyaothanôî hi
vahyô akemcâ

Âoscâ hudâonhô
eres vişyâtâ nôit
duzdâonhô. (30, 3.)

Ayâo manivâo va-
ratâ yê dregvâo
acistâ verezyô

Ašem * * *

Yaêcâ khshnaosen
ahurem haithyâis
şyaothanâis frao-
reş Mazdâm.

(30, 5.)

KṚṢṆA'S

vidadhâmyaham.
Sa tayâ śraddhayâ
y u k t astasyârâ-
dhanamîhate,

* * *

Antavattu phal-
am tesâm tad-
bhavatyâlpâ
medhasâm,

Devânde v a y a j o
yânti madbhaktâ
yânti mām api.

(Gītâ, 7, 21-3.)

Yadgatvâ na ni-
vartante t a d
dhâma paramam
mama.

(ibid. 15, 6.)

Abhayam (âdi)

* * *

Bhavanti sampad-
am daivim-
âbhijâtasya Bhâ-
rata

Dambhav (âdi)

* * *

Ajñânam câbhijâ-
tasya Pârtha.

Sâmpadamâsurim
Daivî sampadvi-
moksâya niban-
dhyâsurî matâ

* * *

OPPOSED TO
VEDA'S

nised by the reli-
gion of the Veda
as prevailing in
the universe, the
Rta, and in Va-
ruṇa himself as
the great guar-
dian of that law
there might
have been found
a deity in whom
the mind of the
sceptic might find
peace and satis-
faction. The case
of Iran proves
that the nature
of the great
Asura could
easily give rise
to the conception
of a moral ruler
and a deep ethi-
cal view of the
world. But,
whatever, the
cause, it is beyond
possibility of
doubt that in In-
dia from the first
philosophy is
intellectual, not
moral, in interest
and outlook." (RPV., pp. 433-4.)
As a matter of
fact, the theory
of the law of
Karma and trans-
migration pre-
cludes all idea of
absolute good or

ZARATHUSTRA'S

KṚṢṆA'S

OPPOSED TO
VEDA'S

Ayâo nôit eres vi-
syâtâ daévacinâ
hyať is â-debao-
mâ

Peresmaneňg upâ-
jasať hyať vere-
nâtâ acistem
manô;

Ať aêsemem hên-
dvâreñtâ yâ bâna-
yen ahûm mare-
tânô. (Yas. 30, 6.)

Listen ye with
your ears. Gaze ye
at the Flame with
the best thought

To the discrimina-
tion of the faiths,
man by man, each
for his own person,
Before the great
endeavour. Consi-
der again (careful-
ly) our announce-
ment. (Yas. 30, 2.)

Therefore you
will defraud a man
of good life and
immortality

Because you, who
are Daevas, of evil
thought and evil
Mentality

Dvau bhûta sar-
gau loke ssmîn
daiva âsura eva ca,

* * *

Etâni dṛṣṭimavaś-
tabhya naśtât-
mano slpabud-
dhayah

Prabhavantyugra-
karmâṇah Kṣa-
yâya jagato shi-
tâh. (9)

Kâmam âśritya
duṣpûram
dambhamânam-
adânvitâh

Mohâd grhîtvâ-
ssad grâhant pra-
vartante sśuci-
ratâh. (10)

(ibid., 16, 1-10.)

Whoever, bhakta,
desires with faith
to worship what-
ever body, I make
his faith of that
immovable. (20)

Verily, fleeting is
the fruit of those
Penny-wise,

absolute bad. In
one place only,
however, in the
R̥g̥veda, we
have the expres-
sion of an idea
approaching the
Zarathustrian
conception of
the cause of evil.
Vasiṣṭha says:
"Not our own will
betrayed us, but
seduction, thou-
ghtlessness,
Varuṇa, wine,
dice, or Mainyu.
The elder born
(Asura) is close
to the younger
born (Deva); even
svapna (sleep)
does not mix up
evil." (R̥v. vii, 6.)

The disconnected
nature of
this passage is
itself a proof of
its being a bor-
rowed one! It
has not, there-
fore, been under-
stood, not having
been brought in
proximity of its
original. But
it will be observ-

1. 'Asrvâtem' in the Gâthic passage might mean an old tradition which Zarathustra was reciting. In that case Vasiṣṭha might not have borrowed from Zarathustra. But the other verbal similarities make this suggestion improbable.

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By evil word will
he advise evil ac-
tions to destruc-
tion. (Yas. 32, 5.)

At the beginning
these Twin-Menta-
lities were *hvafe-*
nâs heard of

In thought, word,
and deed—a good
and a bad one:

Of these two, let
the well-doing
choose aright, not
(so) the evil-doing.
(Yas. 30, 3.)

To the Devas go
the Deva-worship-
pers, but My devo-
tees come to Me. (23)

Whereto having
gone, they do not
return, that is My
Supreme-seat. (15, 6.)

Fearlessness (etc.)*
Are the posses-
sions of those born
Daivis (Nobles).

Religious hypocri-
sy (etc.)

And Ignorance

ed that Manyu
clearly recalls
the Gâthic pas-
sage (30, 3) quot-
ed on the left.
And, as if this
was not thought
sufficient, *svapna*
is also mentioned
to recall *hvafe-*
nâ.¹ It is to be
remembered that
the oldest Brâh-
maṇa the Pañ-
caviṃśa, as also
the Śatapatha,

1. Mills takes 'kshshayô' in Yas. 32, 5 to mean "a ruler", similarly Haug translates it by "opulentia", "besitz", "possession", "macht-power" ('Die Gathas', pp. 15, 31, 166), but against these Guthrie (following Bartholomae) translates it by "to destroy." Now the present comparison with the Gîta passage decides for the latter—where also we have 'ksayâya'—for "destruction" (16, 9). Similarly we get unexpected aid in the construction of the difficult *hvafe-nâ* in Yasna 30, 3 and the equally difficult 'svapna' in Rv. vii, 66, 6. Guthrie following Neryosangh—the Indian Parsi translator—gives it the impossible meaning of "each other". Mills and Haug translate it by equally impossible "spontaneously". (Mills, 'The Gâthâs in English Verbatim', p. 47, and Dictionary, pp. 515-6). But no such sense of this word is to be found elsewhere in the Gâthâs (44, 5), or in the later Avesta. It only corresponds to Sk. 'svapna' meaning "sleep" ('Die Gathas', I, p. 100). This is what others follow and what the earliest translator Rsi Vasiṣṭha supported. The difficulty of course is not removed, but we can at least reject the translations "each other" (Guthrie), "jeder von eigener" (Haug), "spontaneously" (Mills), with the utmost certainty. The meaning most probably is that in the beginning—when there was no differentiation of other beings—that is in the unconscious state or sleeping state in the picture-language of the ancients—"even (?) at- in Avestan and *hi* in Vedic)" they were heard of as separate and opposed to each other. This is what Vasiṣṭha means to emphasise. The activity of the Evil (Manyu) was not and is not stopped even during sleep either of the Universe or of the individual.

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Of these two Mentalities, the Drugist chose the worst deed,

(But) the right * * * was chosen by him who would satisfy and please Ahura Mazdâ with right deeds.

(Yas. 30, 5.)

The Dævaists did not discriminate accurately between these two, because

Just as they were deliberating, (there) came upon them a delusion so that they should choose the Worst Mind,

So that, all together, they rushed over to Aêšma (Fury) through which they afflict the life of man with disease." (Guthrie.)

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are the possessions, O Partha, of the Evil-born. (4)

The good-(mental)-possessions (lead) to Eternal Freedom, the Evil-mentality (mata) (leads) to bondage. (5)

There (are) two sorts of beings in this world, the Daivi and the Āsuri. (6)

Having such view these senseless and penny-wise

Evil-doers are born for destruction—these enemies of the world. (9)

Taking refuge in desires difficult of fulfilment, fully-possessed of hypocrisy, pride, arrogance, they were seized by delusion, these of impure habits.

(Gitâ, 15, 1-10.)

Owing to the syncretic character of the Gitâ, representing not the true undiluted teachings of Kṛṣṇa (of which a symposium is given in the Chândogya), but an amalgam, howsoever mechanical at

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(see RPV. p. 457) contains the tradition of the Āsuras being the elder brothers of the Devas. Strangely enough one passage (and only one) refers to the devas (cf. Gâthâ, 32, 5, quoted on the left) being the source of our ills and evils. (Jaimini Brâhmaṇa, i, 98.)

As against these unconnected passages, "we miss entirely even what might have been expected, a living effort to combine the opposition of gods and Āsuras with the conception of good and evil.

* * *

Besides death there are other evils; hunger, dice, women, sleep cause sin as does untruthfulness; (and according to the whole trend of Hindu Philosophy) these are of the nature of

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times, of Zoroastrianism and Hinduism of the time of its composition (probably 600-300 B.C.), we find also in it the general Vedic theory of good and evil as in the nature of the Supreme Being Himself (Gitā, 7, 12), but it is only, as it were, a lip homage to the former-opponent's faith, for in the preceding verses (8-11) only the good qualities are attributed to Him, the exception being only the last. In any case the verbal similarity in the two sets of passages quoted above cannot be explained on any other theory.

On deeper thought, it would appear that the whole of the Mahābhārata is a story of the fight of the two kinds of persons described above, in fact the fight of the Two-Mentalities, on a

things, for Prajāpati is untruth and darkness as well as truth and light" (Sathapatha, x, 6, 5, 1; Maitrayāni Samhitā iii, 6, 3; Sata., i, 1, 1, 1; v. 1, 2-10; RPV., pp. 479-80). This is an idea quite abhorrent to Zoroastrians.

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vast scale,¹ and it turns upon the wrong choosing of the arch-follower of the Druj Duryodhana. When the fight was about to begin, both Arjuna, the White or Pure one, and this Unrighteous fighter, Duryodhana, both went to the Lord Bhagavat Kṛṣṇa of the Mahâbhârata to secure his help. Duryodhana had arrived first, but being over-proud, took his seat near the head of the lying Kṛṣṇa; Arjuna coming later, but being very reverent

1. That it is not a commentator's poetry, but a description of facts which the author himself intended to impress on his readers (or hearers) would appear from the title originally given to the book, *viz.*, 'Jaya' = "Victory", ('jaya nâm eti hâso Syam' = "the name of this historical composition is 'Jaya' ", both in the first and the last parvans, Bhâratamimamsâ by C. V. Vaidya, (Hindi Translation, p. 6). It is also the original purpose of the author as the very first verse shows : 'tato jayam udirayet', "and then this (book) 'jaya' is to be studied." And what was the conception of this victory in the author's mind ? 'Yato dharmaḥ tato jayah' = a "victory is on the side of righteousness" ; and as to his definition of righteousness, it is only 'yato Kṛṣṇas tato dharmah' = "where there is Kṛṣṇa, *i.e.*, Kṛṣṇaism, there is righteousness." Thus the epic was intended to illustrate the free choosing of the Daivas and Asuras ; the Pândavas were said to be born of the former class of Spirits and their opponents, 'avatâras' of the latter, ending in the final victory of the Right, which is the same perhaps both in sense and form as Rta (Rv.) or Asha or Arsha (Av.).

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towards Him, sat near His legs. And so when Kṛṣṇa awoke he saw Arjuna first and gave him the first choice of Himself (helping with Right-thought only) or of his forces (blind-force). Duryodhana pleaded that he had come first and so should have the first choice. Kṛṣṇa did not accept it. Arjuna again had the magnanimity to allow his elder cousin (*cf.* Asuras, on the right) to have his will. Duryodhana chose wrongly. He chose the army of Kṛṣṇa, and Arjuna was glad to accept the Lord deciding the fate of the coming battle then and there! (Udyoga Parvan).

We can then easily explain the specially Avestan use of the 'daeva' word 'dvar' in Gitâ (XI, 36), corresponding exactly to its exact Avestan equivalent in Gâthâ (Yas. 30,6) and Avesta,

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Yasna IX, 8. This
may give the clue
to the reason of the
so many un-Sans-
kritic idioms in the
Gitâ.

(xiii) In this connection, we ought always to bear in mind the story of the Khândava dâha Parvan (MBH, I), where Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna are described as fighting Indra with all the hosts of the Vedic gods in their attempt to prevent Agni from feeding upon the forest, which meant the destruction of all the creatures residing therein, together with Takṣaka, the Indra-worshipper. It ended, of course, in the defeat of the Aśatru (= enemiless, *i.e.*, unconquerable) Indra and the Devas. In plain language, it means the defeat of the Vedists by the Fire-worshippers, the followers of Kṛṣṇa. Similar is the meaning of the Govardhana incident in the traditional biography of Kṛṣṇa as recorded in the Viṣṇu and other Purâṇas. Kṛṣṇa stopped the worship of the God Indra by his tribesmen, the Vrajabâsis, and advised them to worship the mountains instead, and there ate away all the offerings himself, thus establishing his own worship. This led to an attack by Indra leading his host of gods against the rebel cow-herd tribe, ending in the former's humiliation (Hari V. ii, 16, 2f.; V. P., v, 10, 29 ff; RPV., p. 187). That there is certainly history underlying the tradition is apparent from the fact that we have fortunately the version of the opposite camp also, a very rare thing indeed, preserved to us in the middle-age portion of the Rgveda. Sage Kaṇva who, perhaps, was an eye witness to the fight must be referring to this fact when he sang :—

13. The swift-moving Kṛṣṇa (Asura) with ten thou-

sand (followers) entrenched himself round about (the banks of) the Amṣumatī (Yamunâ).

Indra with might longed for him, as he roared, the hero-hearted laid aside his weapon.

14. I (Indra, as the commentator Sâyana says, or may be, the poet himself is meant) saw the Swift-moving Kṛṣṇa (or Kṛṣṇa-candra, as some, according to Sâyana, explain 'drapsas' to mean the Moon) advancing on the wide region (to take up a) difficult position (mountainous?) on the Amṣumatī River.

Like a cloud. Heroes I send you forth. Go, fight in battle.

15. And then the Swift-moving (or Candra), brilliant, held forth his body,

And Indra, with Bṛhaspati's aid, withstood the (onslaught of the) advancing 'a-devih,' anti-devaite 'viasah,' people.

(R̥gveda, viii, 96, 13-15.)

[It is a great pleasure to me to note that Dr. Radha Krishnan (Ind. Phil. i, 87f.) agrees with me in this interpretation.]

(xiv) In the later Avesta, Zarathustra is represented as worshipping the Sun (Mithra) also, and the section of the Zoroastrians who came or were invited to India, as appears from the Bhaviṣya Purâṇa and Govindpura Inscription, laid great stress on this aspect of the religion. It is not strange, therefore, when it is said that it was Kṛṣṇa's son, Śâmba who brought them from Śakadvîpa (a tradition itself having its counterpart in the Sâhnâma in the story of Zāl) and established them first in Kaśyapapura, now Multan in the Panjab. The Śveta-dvîpa round Meru, modern Merv, is also identifiable now when we are told

that the Pancrâtra (Bhâgvat) religion was imported into India from that land. (MBh. Śânti, chs. 334-351.)¹ But what is of greater importance is the fact that we have Mihira (Mithra) as a name of the Sun in the Mahâbhârata, whom Yudhiṣṭhira worships in the jungle and from whom he gets his cooking utensil supplying eternal food. (MBh. Vana Parvan.) So Kṛṣṇa worshipped the Sun and the Fire before starting on his peace mission to Hastinâpura. (MBh. Udyoga, 83).

(xv) Kṛṣṇa, equally with Zarathustra, was opposed to wine drinking, which was represented in ancient times most probably by Soma (haoma). (LLL. 188f.)

(xvi) Bâlhika is said to be an ancestor of the Pâṇḍus, and this name along with Parâsavi, wife of Vidura², brother of Pâṇḍu, makes their Persian origin quite evident.

(xvii) It is in social customs that we find the Zoroastrian leanings of the Pâṇḍavas clearer. To marry a cousin-sister has, since olden times, been abhorrent to the Indian-Vedists. But this was, perhaps, an old institution amongst a section, at least, of the Zoroastrians. We have a strongly worded adverse criticism, perhaps, of this incestuous custom of the neighbouring Persians, in Rv. x, 12, where Yama is represented as vehemently reprobating the advances of his sister Yamî. They are the two reputed progenitors, according to one version of the Parsi tradition, of the human race (RPV, 408). Arjuna is, however, said to have married his cousin Subhadrâ, who is said to have given birth to the still-born Parîkṣit. In matters relating to the disposal of the dead, they certainly followed the Magian custom of exposing the corpses to the elements of nature and to the birds and beasts of prey. (a) When Arjuna placed his ponderous bow on a

1. See p. 84, n. 1. Walford's (A. R. iii) identification with England has been rightly rejected and forgotten.

2. See p. 84, n. 1.

tree in the kingdom of Virâṭa, preparatory to going to his court, in order to beguile the cowherds who saw him doing it and asked him what it was, he distinctly informed them that it was the corpse of his mother, which he disposed of in that way according to the custom prevailing in his tribe. Again, when Vidura died and his body was sought to be cremated, it was prevented by a voice from heaven, and it was left exposed without even being buried. Nor were the bodies of Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers and wife, ever burnt or buried. The explanation of course is this, just as Darmesteter has pointed out, that it is a repetition of the story of the death of a Persian king as recorded in the *Sāh-nāma*, that they died in the snows of Meru (Merv). Kṛṣṇa's corpse also was not cremated and, according to one account, was similarly disposed of. No such custom is recorded in the *R̥gveda*. We have a reference to it in the *Atharvaveda*, but it cannot be said that it was either general or ever followed previous to the Magian emigration to India. It is also referred to in the *Śatapatha* (iv. 5. 2. 13), but it must be remembered that of the authorities relied on mostly in that *Brāhmaṇa*, one Yājñavalkya, was the pupil of Gautama Āruṇi, who I have shown, in my monogram on the Date of Zarathustra, went and preached in Bactria during the lifetime of Zarathustra, and perhaps made many converts, one of whom was Asurbinda Audālaki; and the other is named Āsuri himself. (V.L., i, p. 72-3; ii, p. 189. Cf. RPV., 417). Yudhiṣṭhira's providing himself with a dog at the time of his journey to the region of the dead, as is already pointed out above, is in pursuance of the well-known Parsi custom of having a dog to look at the corpse before its being taken to the Tower of Silence. (But see contra Gautama and Āpastamba *Gr̥ha Sūtras*, SBE, Gautama, XV, 24; Āpastamba, 11, 7, 17, 20). Bhīṣma's drinking the blood of the defeated has been rightly condemned as un-Indian but not against the code of Iranian.

duels. Cf. Rustam and Sohrab's duel and others.

(xviii) The early history of Kṛṣṇa's boyhood,—his being sent away, when born, among the shepherds and brought up with them, and his act of killing his uncle,—has close correspondence with the story of the boyhood of the Persian king, Kai-Khusru (Husravānh, the beautiful, the glorious) as detailed in the *Sāh-nāma*, which itself is perhaps based on the earlier traditional history found in Pahlavi. But Kṛṣṇa's story of his having killed his uncle is recorded in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Pātañjali (second century B. C.). So I cannot at present say which is the original, but it is to be remarked that the first disciple of Zarathustra having a name identical in meaning with Kṛṣṇa-candra, *i. e.*, Maidhyô-māonha, certainly an a-devih and asura-like Kṛṣṇa is not heard of after Zarathustra's time. But we have it distinctly stated that his religion was, according to the Master's express exhortation, preached in different countries including India. It is also to be noted that the 'verezēnya', the class of Zoroastrians next to the 'Hvaētu' (perhaps the 'rajanyas' or 'ksatriyas' of the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas) is represented in India only by the 'vrajas' of Gokula and Vṛndāvana (Mathura), and though they are found in Zarathustra's time, they disappear later from the Persian literature. The 'airyanina' (the third class) is represented later in the Inscriptions of Darius, and also in other places. Is it not strange that they should appear in India first in connection with Kṛṣṇa?¹ There are some other facts to be consi-

1. It is remarkable in this connection that the Ārya, as the name of a distinct caste lower than the Śudra or after the Śudra, is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* (XIX, 32, 8. 62; also *Yajurveda* of Yājñavalkya, Āsuri, and Tura Kāvaseya, XXVI, 2). The Vaiśya is omitted, and its place given to the Śudra (V. I., ii, p. 258). Are the 'vrātyas', extolled in the *Atharvaveda*, but looked down elsewhere, with their slightly different Vedic language (a dialect of Avestan?), with pointed shoes, etc., in any way connected with the 'varatās'?

dered in this connection. The Sanskrit equivalent of the Avestan 'verezênya' would be 'vr̥janyâh' (Mills' Dictionary, p. 470), connected with √'vr̥j,' meaning "to avoid," "shun," from which the corresponding noun 'vr̥jinah' = "a wicked man", is derived. Either this was the meaning attached to these people when they came to India, or they saw some such sense attached to their name; for, 'vraja', if it is their name, appears to me to be simply a dissimulation of 'vr̥janyah'. There is no such name of a tribe or a caste traceable in the Vedic literature. Another fact is this that while Kṛṣṇa is called an 'a-devih' in the R̥gveda, an Asura in the Atharvaveda and in some places in the Pali literature, he is connected in the Mahābhārata, with the Jādavas¹, who are said to be the 'avatāras' of the Asuras. They are counted among the Vr̥tryas,¹ in the Smṛtis. His grandfather Devaka is said to be a king of the Gandharbhas, Devaka being the name of an enemy, an Asura perhaps, whom Indra killed (VIII, 18, 20). The Mahā bhārata at least calls him an Asura who was a born king of the Gandharbhas (I, 67, 64). It is a contemptuous term no doubt with the suffix 'aka'. The 'Kekayas' whom I have proved to be the people over whom Vistāspa (Aśvapati) ruled and among whom Zarathustra had his first followers, are also called the 'avatāras' of the Asuras in the Mahābhārata (I, 67, 10). These and many other details noted in 'The Date of Zarathustra' (IHQ, 1929) and elsewhere completely establish the identity of the teachings of Kṛṣṇa with those of Zarathustra.

= "right choosers, believers", Yas. 30, 5) of Zarathustra? Might they not be the half-convert nomads of that faith? (see V. I., ii, pp. 342f). It is to be noted, however, that they are not met with in the R̥gveda, but in the Atharvaveda, the Yajurveda and others, that is, after Zarathustra's time.

1 The Andhakas and Vr̥ṇis (to which Kṛṣṇa belonged) are branded as Vr̥ṭyas in the Drona Parvan (ch. 141, 15). Cf. 'The Political History of India', by H. R. Chowdhry, p. 73.

But there were philological difficulties to be got over to establish the identity of the two personages. They proved to be simply formidable and four years of labour have resulted in only firmly laying the foundations of a new and distinct branch of the linguistic science, which I now call Inorganic Philology, although I had first published my views thereon under the title of 'The Law of Loan in Languages' (JBORS). I found that organic philological laws or rules were inapplicable to trace the changes words undergo when taken as loan even in languages originally closely connected. I was convinced of the identity, but was misled into reading strict history in the traditions recorded in the Mahābhārata. Instead of comparing it critically with the admittedly better source, the Vedic literature, I assumed the correctness of the Mahābhārata in essential details, even where it was not supported by the more reliable records; and as it was found there that Yudhiṣṭhira had gone to the North-West of India, a place actually recorded as 'Pahlava deśa' in the Jaina Harivaṃśa, almost identical with Bactria, the country very generally accepted as the region of the first ministry of Zarathustra, and as the previous history of Zarathustra was enshrouded in mystery and conflicting traditions ('Zoroaster,' by Jackson, p. 38f.), it was a fascinating idea to theorise as to the transformation of Yudhiṣṭhira into Zarathustra in his foreign home. There was no difficulty now, and as this theory assuaged the patriotic feelings of my countrymen, most roughly and unjustifiably wounded by Dr. Spooner, it was hailed with joy and feelings of relief in the province. I was asked to get my thesis printed, after I had read it in the Bengali Literary Conference and also at a meeting specially convened in the Bihar National College Hall in 1915. But as I wanted to finish the investigation of certain points in it, the publication was delayed. Subsequent examination

and re-examination of the evidence has not changed my conviction as to the identity of the two persons, but the shaky character of the value to be attached to the statements of facts as contained in the Mahābhārata, especially the demonstrable lateness of the book, the adapted features and very recent age of its last 'Parvans,' in which is contained the most important evidence of my original theory, when compared with the unchallengeable evidence of the Zoroastrian Gāthās have compelled me to modify my former views of history.

Zarathustra did certainly exist, as besides the evidence of foreigners, we have him living in an archaic book which, if not his actual composition, was certainly composed in his immediate presence, and wherein the god-Zarathustra of the later Avesta, appears as a living human being with the tribulations and joys to which we are liable. Can the same be said of Yudhiṣṭhira? The demi-god Yudhiṣṭhira of the existing Mahābhārata was painted as a real living human being in its original recension, as established by modern research, but this book cannot be pushed beyond the fourth century B. C. ('Mahābhārata Mimāṃsā,' by Vaidya, p. 53 (Hindi)), the modernity of the language, the finished and therefore late character of its metres being the most hostile of circumstances to any of its portion being deemed a contemporary composition. For though of all persons, Kṛṣṇa cannot be eliminated from the society of Yudhiṣṭhira, he is still earlier than the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, (iii, 17. 6) where he is referred to as Devikīputra Kṛṣṇa, earlier in the Atharvaveda where he is referred to as an Asura, and also at a later stage in the development of the Rigvedic lore, wherein (Rv. viii, 96, 13-15) occurs the Vedic-version of the Indra's fight on the banks of the Yamunā (as we are compelled to interpret Aṃśumatī in accordance with the authority of Sāyaṇâcārya). Here Kṛṣṇa

is justly and rightly referred to as 'adevih-anti-deva.' Now in all this and in the kindred Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas, we have no reference to Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers. This is inexplicable on any other theory. If the fact of his being anti-Vedist be any ground for the absolute silence of these contemporary and very nearly contemporary, certainly vast, ancient records regarding these personages, there can be none regarding their opponents the Kauravas, and this when it is to be remembered that almost the whole of all this literature was produced in the Kuru-Pāṇcāla country. The Bhāratas and later the Kuru-Pāṇcālas are all throughout mentioned, but not even the name of Pāṇḍu or the Pāṇḍavas, collectively or individually finds a place anywhere therein. The alleged immediate descendants of these, Parīkṣit and his sons, are mentioned, and the prosperous condition of the people in his reign is gloriously lauded in the Atharvaveda (x, 127, 7-10). Even the not-distant ancestors of these, Devāpi and Śāntanu, are mentioned in the latest portion of the R̥gveda (x. 98). Why should the most important intermediaries be forgotten? Of all the persons how could the heroic deeds of the learned and most renowned Brahmin fighter Droṇâcârya, who was most treacherously killed by the Kṣatriya princes, who died, it must be presumed, fighting for his religion, and whose son had his revenge on them, how could all this be forgotten by the Brahmins themselves especially when they had many occasions to refer to their successful fight against the latter (*e. g.* Ait. Br. viii, 21) to cow them down into submission? Could such men die 'unwept, unhonoured and unsung' by their own voluble partisans? The fight might be taken to have been a local one, only most disproportionately exaggerated by the later bards, but the Pāṇcālas cannot by any means be eliminated from it. How is it then that the whole of the Vedic literature

refers to them always as friendly tribes, by joining them together—the Kuru-Pāṇcālas (v. I. I, 165-6) and never even for once speaks of any enmity between them. No civil war is ever referred to among the Kurus.

But if in the original and older genealogy of the Kurus, the names neither of Pāṇdu nor his sons Yudhiṣṭhira and others occur, it will be admitted that the evidence is decisive and Yudhiṣṭhira's non-existence proved. However startling the suggestion might appear, it is but too true! There are two genealogies given in the Mahābhārata, side by side (I, Chs. 68-94 and 95), but both relating to the Puru line of kings. Nowhere else, excepting in the Harivaṁśa, such a duplication of the genealogies is to be found together, and both for the same reason and for the same purpose. In the Harivaṁśa, the earlier Asura genealogy of Kṛṣṇa had to be replaced by the general Indian one, but the older one could not be suppressed (see DRGI, p. 229). They have troubled many scholars, but so far no satisfactory explanation has been found. The two Paurava genealogies of the Mahābhārata, besides, contradict each other on many points. Though it cannot be asserted that any of them is absolutely correct, there are certain circumstances to show that the list first in order is also earlier in date than the second. First, while the two together are named 'Puru-vaṁśānukīrtana,' or "Eulogy of the Puru race," it is the first only which contains the names of the kings together with a short account of their exploits, the second is but a string of names some of whom are already named in the first list. As a matter of fact, when we have a complete list with descriptive notes in the first list (I, chr. 68-94), there would appear no valid reason for its repetition. At least the one given "extensive description" (ch. 95) is certainly false, for it is the first and not the second which gives us any extensive description. Secondly,

as Wilson remarked: "Of the two lists, however, the second is probably to be regarded as the recent, if not the more correct (which it is not); for Vaiṣampāyana repeats it at Janamejaya's request, because the latter is not satisfied with the summary account (?) which the latter had first communicated to him" (Ind. Alt. I, p. 594, f. n. 3). Thirdly, it will appear from a comparison of the two lists with that of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa given below from Lassen's 'Alterthumskunde Indische' (I, XIX-XXV, appendix), that the Purāṇas, in most places, agree with the first list, and so does the Vedic literature. Fourthly and lastly, as one of the two must be a later invention, the charge cannot be laid against the first, because, while the names of Dhrtrāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu as descendants of Parīkṣit are given, the names of the most important personages, (Yudhiṣṭhira, Duryodhana, etc.) so far as the Mahābhārata is concerned, are omitted and we find instead the names of Kuṇḍina, Hastin, etc., appearing as the sons of Dhrtrāṣṭra.

	MAHĀBHĀRATA	VIṢṆU-PURĀṆA
FIRST LIST	SECOND LIST	
1 Puru	Puru = Kauśalyā	Puru
2	Janamejaya = Anantā, a Mādhavī	Janamejaya I
3	Prācīvat Asmakī, a Yādavā	Prācīvat
4 Pravira = Śūrasenī,		Pravira
5 Manasyu = Sauvirī		Manasyu
6 Śakta		
7		Bhayada
8		Sudyuman
9		Bahugava
10	Samyāti = Varāṅgī, d. of Dr̥ṣadvat	Samyāti
11	Ahamyāti, Bhānumatī d. of Kṛtvīrya	Asamyāti

	MAHÂBHÂRATA		VIṢṆU-PURÂṆA
	FIRST LIST	SECOND LIST	
12	Raudrâśva = Ghṛtâcî, an Apsarâ		Raudrâśva
13	R̥ceyu (Anâdhṛṣṭi)		R̥teyu, (Ag. P. R̥ceyu)
14		Sârvabhauma = Sunandâ, d. of K. of Kekaya	
15		Jayatsena = Suśravâ, d. of K. of Vidarbha	
16		Avâcina = Maryâdâ, d. of K. of Vidarbha	
17		Ariha = d. of a king of Anga	
18		Mahâbhauma = Suyajnâ, d. of Prasanejit	
19		Ayutanâjin = Kâmâ, d. of Pṛthuśravas	
20		Akrodhana = Karambhâ, d. of K. of Kalinga	
21		Devâtithi = Maryâdâ, d. of K. of Videha	
22		Ariha = Sudevâ, d. of K. of Anga.	
23		R̥kṣa = Jâvâlâ, d. of Tak- ṣaka, the Serpent King	
24	Matinâra	Matinâra = the River Sarasvatî	Rantinâra
25	Tansu and Druhyu	Tansu = Rathantri	Tansu, Apratira- tha, Dhruva
26	Ilina = Rathantri	Ilina	Anila
27*	Duśyanta	Duśyanta-Śakuntalâ	Duśyanta
28*	Bharata	Bharata = Sunandâ, d. of K. of Kâśi named Sarvasena	Bharata

	MAHÂBHÂRATA	VIṢṆU-PURÂṆA
FIRST LIST	SECOND LIST	
29 Bhumanyu	Bhumanyu-Vijayâ, a Dâśârhi	Bhavamanyu
30 Diviratha		Bṛhatkṣatra
31 Suhotra	Suhotra = Sunandâ, . d. of an Ikṣvâku	Suhotra
32	Hastin = Yaśodhrâ, d. of a K. of Trigarta	
33	Vikunthana = Sudevâ, a Dâśârhi	
34* Ajamiḍha	Ajamiḍha	Ajamiḍha
35* Samvaraṇa	Samvaraṇa = Tapatî, d. of the Sun	Samvaraṇa
36 Kuru	Kuru-Subhângâ, a Dâśârhi	Kuru
37 Avikṣit, Janame- jaya and 3 others		
38		Jahnu
39		Suratha
40	Vidûratha = Sampriyâ, a Mâdhavî	Vidûratha
41	Anasvan-Amṛtâ, d. of a K. of Magadha	
42* Parikṣit, and 7 others	Parikṣit = Bâhudâ	
43	Suyasa	
44* Janamejaya, Bhî- masena and 5 others	Bhimsena-Kumâri, d. of a K. of Kekaya	
45		Sarvabhauma
46		Jayasena, Arâvin
47		Ayutâyus
48		Akrodhana
49		.Rkṣa

MAHĀBHĀRATA

VIṢṆU PURĀṆA

FIRST LIST

SECOND LIST

50

Dilīpa

51

Pratiśravas

52* DHRTRĀṢṬRA,

PĀNDU, BALHĪKA

and 5 others

53 Kuṇḍina, Hastin

and 3 others

54* Pratiṭpa and 2 Pratiṭpa = Sunandā, Pratiṭpa
others d. of king of Śibi55 *DEVĀPI, ŚĀNTANU, DEVĀPI, ŚĀNTANU,
BALHĪKA (mention- BALHĪKA
ed in the last portions
of the R̥veda, X. 98)

[The list closes here.]

DEVĀPI, ŚĀNTANU,
BALHĪKA

56 Bhīṣma, Vicitravīrya, Citrāṅgada

Bhīṣma, V. vīrya Cāṅgada

57 Dhrtrāṣṭra Pāndu Vidura
M. Gāndhari M. Kuntī M. Madri
(Prthā) (Bāhlikī)58 Duryodhana and 99 others Yudhiṣṭhira
and 4 others

59 Abhimanyu

60 PARĪKSIT, (revived. He was
"born dead", having been killed
in the embryo by Droṇa's son).

61

D. P. V.
Dur. Yud.

Abhimanyu

Parīksit
Janamejaya

* (Names marked with the asterisk are mentioned in the Vedic literature also. But the Dhrtrāṣṭra of Vedic literature is of Kāśi and not a Kaurava. See 'Vedic Index'.)

It is to the last named personage that the Mahābhārata is alleged to have been recited during the snake-sacrifice performed by him. It is apparent that he is the same person as No. 44 in the first list. The name of the father

of both is the same, and so are the names of two of their brothers Ugrasena and Bhīmasena. The other four also bore the surname 'sena'. To some extent this position of Janamejaya is supported by the second list also, inasmuch as it also mentions one Parikṣita (No. 42), about the same distance from Ajamiḍha with a grandson instead of a son named Bhīmasena. But these names disappear from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa for obvious reasons. The Bhāgavata mentions a Parikṣita as a son of Kuru, but distinctly states that he had no son (IX. 22, 8-15). Now there can be no doubt that this Janamejaya of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas is identical with the Janamejaya of the Vedic literature. In the Mahābhārata as well as the Brāhmaṇas, he is the son of Parikṣit, he has three brothers named Ugrasena, Bhīmasena, and Śrutseṇa, who were accursed to be subjected to some sudden fear in the former, and an unknown sin due to some serious scandal in the latter, from which they were released by choosing one Somasrava (born of a serpent) as their priest, as stated in the Mahābhārata (I, 3, 11-20), while the Brāhmaṇas mention the performance of a horse sacrifice to that end with Śaunaka (SB) or Tura Kavāśya (AB) as their priest, certainly different from their family priests as indicated in both the Mahābhārata (I, 50, 11-30) and the Brāhmaṇas as the Kāśyapas, who were for some time suspended from being allowed to enjoy that privilege ('Vedic Index', Vol. i, 273, 520). The facts that in the Mahābhārata (I, 3, 1-10) the beating of a dog is said to be a sin to be atoned for like the Parsi religious laws, the Vendidad, and the Kāśyapas, possibly connected with the Caspian Sea and the Zoroastrian religion, Kāśyapa-pura being the name of the first city in India where sun-worship along with the Zoroastrian religion was established, the city being later known as Multan; and the Asitmr̥gas, a family of these priests, Asurbinda known also as Kusurubind, being the name of an individual belonging to this

family, and 'mrgas' being the designation of the Brāhmaṇas of Śākadvīpa according to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, are other connecting links of the Pāṇḍava family with Iran. A further evidence of their Iranian connection is the cause of Parikṣit's death as detailed in the Mahābhārata (I, 50), that is, his insult to a 'Mauna Rṣi' (a sage practising silence), whose pupil was one Gaura-mukha (White-complexioned), referring clearly to Zoroastrian priests as described in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa. All this shows a change of faith beginning from Parikṣit, whose reign probably is so much eulogised by a Kuru subject in the Atharvaveda (xx, 127, 7-10), and certainly, in the same strain, in the Mahābhārata (I, 49, 1-20). This being so near the period of Rv. x, 98, where we read of the sacrifice of Devāpi for Ailāna (of the family of Ilina 20), it would require an unwarrantable supposition that it was after the immigration of the Kurus, a fact supported by the existence of a northern home of the Kurus, the Uttarakuru, beyond the Himalayas (pareṇa Himavantam)¹, near Uttramadra², and Kāmboja², the language of Uttras being further described as purer³, the names of the Persian kings, Kuruś (Cyrus) and Kambujiya (Cambyses) coupled with the mention of the then primitive social condition of the people through the mouth of Pāṇḍu in the Mahābhārata (I, Ch. 123) and Ottoroxorrai (of Ptolemais) east of Kashgar (Alt. Ind., I, 846-7) making its existence undoubted. That they immigrated in very late times is proved by the fact that they are not mentioned by name in the Rgveda, and their kings, the doubtful Kuruśravaṇa Trāsdasyava and the more probable Śāntanu, as also their priests, the Kaśyapas, are mentioned in the tenth and ninth Mandala of the Rgveda. These Mandalas are well known for their recent character. Their non-connexion with the Purus and the Bhāratas is proved by the fact that their

1 V. I. I, 84.

2 Ibid., p. 84-5

3 V. I. I. 86-7.

genealogy is clearly added on to that of the Purus, after it was finished with the words: 'iti ete Paurvâh' ("finished, these were the Pauravas"). The Kuru genealogy is then continued by supplying Ajamidha with another wife, Nalinî. The Kuru genealogy of the Jaina Harivaṅśa honestly recognises this fact and gives the Kurus quite an independent genealogy having no connection with the Yadus. Their distinctness is also proved by the fact that their capital was named Hastinâpura = Nâgapura ("the city of the Serpents"). Kauravya and Dhṛtrâṣṭra (Dhattaraṭha, name of a Nâga = "serpent" in Pâli-Jâtakas) are names of families of Nâgas (= "serpents") as given in the Mahâbhârata (I, 57). The great Bhîṣma had a Nâga, a serpent emblem on his war flag. And lastly, according to the Nîla-mâtâ Purâṇa, the country north of the Kashmir, i. e., near about Kashgar, was formerly inhabited by the Nâgas.

Now this unsupportable supposition is supplanted by a natural course of events if we take Parikṣit to be the next descendant of the first Kuru king in India, the kingdom having been gained by usurpation, as the Jaina Harivaṅśa suggests, and so perhaps not praised in the R̥gveda. His name Avikṣit (= "shepherd," from 'avis' = "sheep"?) being perhaps an indication of his recent pastoral life. Parikṣit must, therefore, have been a very popular king, to gain the good-will of his subjects as described in the contemporary ballad of the Atharvaveda. If the story of the cause of the death of Parikṣit is to be believed and given a natural setting, he might have become a reinforced Vedist, even if only to get the support of the Indian priestly class, but for that very reason a more fanatic one. And so the insult to the non-violent Zoroastrian sage must have let loose on him the fury of the Zoroastrian Nâgas of Taxila, where the evidence of the Zoroastrian faith has been recently discovered by Sir John Marshall, though

it may not be of very great antiquity or of further west. His son Janamejaya, "the Great Conqueror," carried farther the work of his father, by driving away the vestiges of Zoroastrianism from his land, subduing the Nâgas and performing the final horse sacrifice with the help of Indrota Daivâpi Śaunaka, a purely Indian priest, as the Śatapatha says, or another having some distinct clear Iranian tint in his name, Tura Kāvaseya¹, as is the version of the Aitareya. There was later rapprochement between the Kâśyapas and Janamejaya. In any case, these are the facts only remembered in the Brâhmaṇas and so of a period anterior to them. But the most decisive fact noted therein is this that both Parikṣit and Janamejaya are called Kurus and not Pāṇḍavas, which would not have been done if there had been the very bitter recent fight between their immediate ancestors and the Kauravas, as in that fight they must have had a distinctively collective name as the Mahābhārata indicates. This they could not have been deprived of in so short a time and given the hated title of their mortal enemies.

We arrive at the same conclusion when we consider the other most relevant inversion of names in the two lists, I mean that of Dhrtrâṣṭra. He is said to be an 'avatâra' of Hansa, son of the Gandharva king, Ariṣṭa, (MBh. I, 67, 81-2). If it does not literally mean anything, it means that he had another name Ariṣṭa, or some blood connexion with Ariṣṭa, perhaps a prakritised form of Rṣti and this fits in exactly with the R̥gvedic patronymic title

1. The name 'Tura' itself is perhaps connected with the Turanians. Kāvaseyas, according to Barua ('Pre. Bud. Phil.', pp. 111-2), were the first to raise their voice against the Vedic sacrifice. Had they any blood relation with the Kavas of Iran? He is the source of the doctrine taught in the tenth book of the Śatapatha, where the other teachers mentioned are Yājñavalkya and his pupil Asuri. For the Asura connection of Yājñavalkya's guru Āruni, see p. 100 above. Tura Kāvaseya is also said to have erected a fire altar (like that of Iran?) on the Karoti, (V. I. i, p. 811.)

Ârṣṭisena ("descendant of Rṣṭisena") of Devâpi. This hymn, being a contemporaneous composition, cannot by any means be explained away. But if we take away Dhrtrâṣṭra from his real position in the first list, we cannot find any trace of the father's name of the certainly R̥gvedic Devâpi in the second Mahâbhârata list or in the corresponding Puranic version. Those supporting the second list may say that the Vedic Vicitravîrya, father of Dhrtrâṣṭra is not found in the first list. But this Vedic Dhrtrâṣṭra, son of Vicitravîrya is not to be taken as a Kuru king at all, but as identical with the Kâśi king of Śatapatha. (V. I., i, 403.) A similar confusion must have occasioned the misconceived corrections of the older list.

But we cannot sufficiently thank the ancient Indian sages for having preserved all the conflicting records intact, however obsolete they might have thought them to be. I have given most of them in my DRGI (JBORS, 1920, pp. 227 ff.) and some of them have been hinted at above. Their very beautiful way of explaining these "corrections" must not be passed over unnoticed. The extinct Parikṣit had to be brought down and as this could not be done without bringing him back to life, a fact impossible of execution, it was recorded that Parikṣit, though dead before being born, was brought back to life by Vyâsa. This Parikṣit is the same as the older one, only with some names inserted before him. A miracle literally !!!

[It will be seen that, though I have not specifically mentioned the arguments of the opponents against the theory propounded here, mostly of my countrymen like Mr. C. V. Vaidya, (see his 'Bhârat Mimânsâ' in the Hindi language and other works in English), I have met them, however, by showing that the omission of any reference to the Pândavas and Droṇacârya in the Vedic literature is

not accidental and of no consequence. The most serious mistake of these persons is their tacit assumption that the Dhr̥trāstra in the Vedic literature was a Kuru and was different from the Dhr̥trāstra of Kāśī not distinguished therein. I cannot understand why they take Somaka of the R̥gveda, king of the Śr̥ñjayas, to be identical with Somaka of the Pāñcālas, though this latter mistake is not so very serious in this connection. In these matters, we ought not to be lawyers but judges, however unpleasant our conclusions might be to ourselves or to others. For a few other references see my 'Date of Zoroaster', IHQ, 1929, pp. 260-274].

APPEND A

1) Mathurā (mathûrā) = Madhurā = Madura = Maḍura = Maḍura = Madra.

The above formula which is exact explains almost perfectly a lot of hitherto confused facts. Madhu, the first king of the Mathura tract was an Asura. So was his son Lavana. Distinctly an Asura, he is the ancestor of Kṛṣṇa in H. V. (Chs. 93 ff.). But he is referred to as a Yādava in other places. (See Pargiter, 'Indian Historical Traditions'). Pargiter has taken quite uncritically the former version to be the latter. (Pp. 66, 122.) But he never paused to think how a very important town came to have two names 'Mathurā' and 'Madhurā' among persons who never confused the two sounds 'th' and 'dh'. But if it be granted that this is an Avestan word, the whole difficulty would disappear. You cannot give it a Sanskrit meaning. 'Madrāh' (the people of Madra: there were the Uttara Madras like the Uttara Kurus known to the Vedic Indians,) must also have migrated.

to India like the Kurus. They were also known as 'Madrukah'. (See Apte's Dictionary.) We get the epenthetic 'u' naturally before 'r' (Av. Gr. §. 70) in 'Madra' or 'Madrah' or 'Madrukah' the original 'd' being represented by the δ and also by θ . (ibid §§ 83 (3) and 86.)

The one important point to be remembered in this connection is this that this change took place in Persia about the time of the Purāṇas, i. e., this change is not found in the Gāthic Avestan language, whose age is certainly earlier, corresponding to the early Vedic. And, therefore, it rather supports the present theory that the name Mathurā or Madhurā, retaining a Gāthic trace in its final vowel, has the effect of the later change firmly impressed on it. And we do not hear of Māthura or Mādhura in the Vedic literature. Mathurā must have come into prominence only towards the close of it.

2) The Mahābhārata as a composition may have come into existence later, but the names of the heroes of the story must have been known to the people who knew Arjuna and others. It is doubtful if Pāṇini knew them. (IHQ., I, p. 483 ff; II, p. 186 ff.) If the fight really took place in India, with Duryodhana, Duhśāsana and others, its magnitude was such that the latter must have been known to Pāṇini at least. But the fact that these names became current after the time of the great grammarian is proved by the following Vārttikā of Kātyāyana to P. III, 3, 126-130,

भाषायां शासि युधि दक्षि घृषि मृषिभ्योयुज्वक्तव्यः ।

In the spoken (Sanskrit) language, it ought to be stated that 'yuc' ('ana' by VII I. I) is added to the roots 'yudh' ("to fight"), 'drś' ("to see"), 'dhrs' ("to hurt"), 'mrś' ("to bear"), with 'isat,' 'dus,' and 'su' as prepositions, to form such words as 'Duryodhana', 'Suyodhana',

'Duhśāsana', 'Durdarśana', 'Durdharsana', 'Durmarsana', etc. Pāṇini knew of such affixes only to roots ending in *ā* (III, 3, 128). This conclusion is further supported by the Vārttikā गवद्विषु विन्दः संज्ञायाम् to P. III, 1, 138, to explain the formation of 'Govinda', a late name of Kṛṣṇa. These words got currency between the times of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana which must have been considerably great. This has been discussed by Goldstücker in his preface to Pāṇini and is conclusively proved by the Vārttikā of Kātyāyana to P. III, 1, 118. In Pāṇini's time, the words प्रतिगृह्यम् and अपिगृह्यम् were found in the Vedic as well as the current dialect, so he wrote only ग्रन्थपिभ्यां ग्रहेः। In Kātyāyana's time they must have gone out of use, for he pulls up Pāṇini and says: छन्दसि इति वक्तव्यम्="You ought to have said in the Vedas only." Kātyāyana certainly lived before Patañjali, the commentator of both the authors. The date of the latter is fixed, as he clearly states that he was contemporary of Puṣpamitra in the second century B. C. Pāṇini must, therefore, have lived in the fourth century B. C. or even earlier. And this fits in with the date 400 B. C. of the original Mahābhārata as arrived at on other grounds.

This may, then, be the date of the second or third influx of the Iranians whose trace is to be found in the outer band of the Hindustani dialects and the Hindustani people. (Chand, 'The Indo-Aryan Races', Vol. I, pp. 75 and 248-249). Thus the negative evidence from the Vedic literature coupled with the positive evidence obtained from Pāṇini read along with Kātyāyana makes the internal evidence obtained from the genealogical list certain.

ABBREVIATIONS

Alt. Ind. = 'Alterthumskunde Indische', by Lassen.

Av. Gr. = Jackson's 'Avesta Grammar'.

Dic. = Mill's 'Dictionary of the Gâthâs'.

DRGI = 'The Different Royal Genealogies of Ancient India' (JBORS, 1920).

ERPP = Moulton's 'Early Religious Poetry of Persia'.

EZ = Moulton's 'Early Zoroastrianism'.

HPI = Hodiwala, 'The Parsis of Ancient India'.

HV = 'Harivaṃśa'.

IHT = Pargiter's 'Indian Historical Tradition'.

IHQ = 'Indian Historical Quarterly'.

JBORS = 'Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society'.

MBh = Mahābhārata.

Rel. Ved. = RPV = Keith's 'Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas'.

SWB. = Sanskrit Wörterbuch.

VGS = 'Vedic Grammar for Students', by Macdonell.

VI = Macdonell's 'Vedic Index'.

VP = 'Viṣṇu Purāṇa'.

Yas. = The Avestan Yasna.



IRANIAN RESEARCHES BY EUROPEAN SCHOLARS—V

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The Pahlavi Codices K 20 and 20b containing Ardâgh
Virâz Nâmagh, Bundahišn, etc. Published in fac-
simile by the University Library of Copenhagen.
With an Introduction by Arthur Christensen.
Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard 1931. 16 and
388 p. 2^o.

One cannot too much emphasise that in publishing a text from a manuscript carelessness in decipherment, slips of pen, and mistakes of the printer are all to be avoided. This can be easily and best done by issuing facsimile editions by some photographic process, which method is especially suitable and desirable for Pahlavi works, most of which are found in rare independent manuscripts, and which are written in a cursive script full of ligatures. It was also applied to certain texts very early, and later on a fund was started by the Parsis for this purpose on the recommendation of that great French Iranist Darmesteter. But the original plan of issuing facsimile editions has not strictly been adhered to, which is very regrettable indeed. Even European scholars have not paid any particular attention to this matter, partly due to lack of interest and other reasons as regards Pahlavi, although some of the best manuscripts are in the libraries of London and Oxford, Paris, Munich and Copenhagen. The last, however, makes a happy exception to our complaint. As early as 1851, Westergaard gave us the facsimile edition of the Bundahishn from

the Codex K₂₀, and later on in 1882 Andreas did the same regarding the Dâstân i Mênôk i Khrat from the Codex K₄₃. It is a pity indeed that also the rest of the texts from the same and other old manuscripts were not made available in the same manner. However the authorities of the Library were by no means unaware of the importance of this task, and wanted to fulfil it too. In 1912, Dr. Eyser, one of its librarians, discussed about it at the sixteenth International Congress of Orientalists at Athens. But the Great War and other unfavourable circumstances did not allow the institute to translate its intention into action all this time. Now at last the great task has begun, thanks to the enterprising publishers Levin & Munksgaard; the first volume, a big folio in excellent get-up, is already published. It contains two manuscripts, K₂₀ and K_{20b}, with an introduction from the pen of Prof. Christensen.

K₂₀ is one of the few oldest Zoroastrian codices that have been preserved to us. It is copied from several MSS. of that great scribe Mihr-âwân Kay-Xusrav. This learned priest was invited in 1320 by a Parsi merchant of Thana, named Chahil, to come to India for copying religious writings and perhaps also for instructing his Indian brethren therein. He accepted this invitation and came first to Thana and worked there. Then he visited almost all the principal Parsi centres of those days, working all the time for his mission. These and various other details can be gathered from his colophons attached to the copies he took at the time. Most of these copies are now in Europe, Copenhagen alone having three of them, the Vendidad or Vidêvdât manuscript K₁, the Yasna manuscript K₅, and this K₂₀ containing miscellaneous religious texts. These along with many others were brought by Rask in the beginning of the last century, and a short catalogue thereof was

prepared by Westergaard in 1846. They supplied very good materials for the different Avesta editions. As to K₂₀ we have already referred to the Bundahisn contained therein; it was later on used by Haug for his *Ardâ Virâf Nâma* and other texts in 1872, who gave its full contents also. Since then it has been variously used by other scholars for editions or translations or both, most recently by the present writer for the *Šâyast-nê-šâyast*, a Pahlavi Text on Religious Customs (Hamburg 1930). In my Introduction § 3 e to it I have dwelt upon the value of K₂₀ with respect to this text, which can be applied to other texts also, or it may even be increased, since the whole manuscript is not so carelessly written as in the particular case. However this may be, K₂₀ is absolutely necessary for settling the texts occurring in M₅₁ (formerly M₆) of the State Library of Munich, and is alone authoritative for those that do not occur in this sister manuscript, since there is no other independent copy. Under these circumstances the facsimile of the codex is the most welcome and highly useful gift. We very much wish that also the sister codex in Munich may similarly be made available to the student world. It has been preserved in a much better condition, and therefore its facsimile has been suggested by me in my above-mentioned work, but circumstances are not favourable for the execution of the plan. Let us however hope and wish that the appearance of K₂₀ may serve as an impetus to it and also to my still earlier suggestion about the unique manuscripts in Bombay, *e.g.* the *Dēnkart* MS., the TD MSS. in the library of Mr. Behramgore Anklesaria and others.

The other manuscript published herewith, *viz.*, K_{20b}, contains a portion of the Bundahisn, and its value lies in the fact that it is copied neither from K₂₀ nor from M₅₁, but from a third independent source. This was already

observed^f by West, and I have confirmed his view by collating the text here and there, whereby I have also found that it bears greater resemblance to K₂₀ than to M₅₁. But unfortunately the copy is not very carefully done and so we shall not be able to get much help from it. However, it has preserved something very important, a loose folio of its original which seems to be in the handwriting of the same great scribe Mihr-âwân Kay-Xusrav. This is not the first case in which he has prepared more than one copy of the same text or texts. And therefore an attempt should be made to find out the missing codex—or rather its different parts, since it was not complete at the time when K_{20b} was copied from it. In any case—whether it was so or not—it was certainly the source of the latter; the comparison of the loose folio with the corresponding part would show it to anybody. Moreover, the word Ganâk Mênûk appears in the same strange form showing *âk* and *m* in a ligature *aym*, also in other parts. Another novelty, though not of any importance, is the calligraphical initial formula to be found in one of the folios, showing the influence of Modern Persian calligraphy. The formula itself is not correct, it being a poor attempt at rendering Persian into Pahlavi. A detailed discussion on this point will be found in my German review in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*.

The order of the folios has been left as found in the manuscripts at present. Only the disorder in the two texts, *Handarz i ôšnar* and *Šâyast-nê-šâyast II*, which I have investigated before, has been changed by Prof. Christensen according to my instructions. This disorder was due to the loose condition of the folios, and not to the mistake of the copyist or to the defect in his original. Moreover, the original numbering was defaced, and therefore a non-proficient hand made some mistakes while rearranging the folios. For instance, the person responsible

for the Gujarati numbering at the bottom placed the folio 167 after 168-170 (or did not observe that somebody had committed this mistake) and misnumbered them accordingly. This error was then repeated by European scholars. It is not quite clear as to who is responsible for the disorder in the Handarz folios. Both the top and the bottom numberings are mostly defaced or torn, but the fact that the Paris copy of K_{20} , which is taken later on, has not got this disorder shows that it must have occurred still later. Moreover, the top numbering is clear as regards the beginning of the text, the number is 145 which means 143 owing to the mistake committed at folio 97 for which is written 99; but Haug (and West) did not follow it while numbering the folios, see the note on page VI of the Book of Ardâ Virâf, where the mistake has been corrected.

Besides this disorder there is a lacuna of about 30 lines after the first word on page 108 (see my *Šâyast-nê-šâyast* 2, 40 note 2). It cannot be said whether the scribe Mihr-âwân is responsible for it or his original; the sister manuscript in Munich is free from this defect, and if both of them are copied from the same immediate source—and not from a more or less remote one, which can also be the case—then the lacuna has occurred through his mistake. For the dislocation, however, that I have found out he is not responsible, they occur in the Munich copy also. They are of such a character that neither the copyists nor the modern scholars have observed them, see my *Šâyast-nê-šâyast* 10, 25-29 and notes thereon.

In order to facilitate reference, Prof. Christensen has added a continuous pagination irrespective of the missing folios which were already numbered, (which means that they were lost after the last numbering was made). It would have been much better, had he marked the lines also. Then he has given in his introduction the exact places

where the texts begin and end, which is very useful indeed. We believe if this course be adopted for all the manuscripts in the library, it would serve our purpose easily and quickly. A descriptive catalogue on some great plan like that of Bartholomae's *Zendhandschriften* would cost a great deal of labour, time, and money. The present series of facsimiles is to be continued, but we are not informed which manuscripts would be taken up for the purpose. Let us therefore suggest that the *Dâtastân i Dênîk* should first be made available, since there exists only T. D. Anklesaria's incomplete edition of this text. The *Dônkart* copy is also very good; it contains fewer books than the Bombay copy in the Mulla Firoz Library, but it is superior to it in other respects. But all this depends upon the support the publication receives. We hope that the Parsis in particular and the oriental bodies in general will not fail to do the right thing in this matter.

Thumb, Albert: *Handbuch des Sanskrit. Eine Einführung in das sprachwissenschaftliche Studium des Altindischen. Zweite Auflage..... von Hermann Hirt. Heidelberg 1930. Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung. XX, 538 p. 8^o.*

A short notice of this work will not be considered out of place here, because of the close relation of the subject.

Prof. Thumb's *Handbuch des Sanskrit* was the first work of its kind, treating Sanskrit from the historical and comparative standpoint. It was published in 1904, and was out of print for several years. It has, therefore, been re-issued by means of a photographic process with a number of additions by Prof. Hirt, the well-known authority on and author of *Indogermanische Grammatik*. The most of the additions are given in the appendix, but not without references in the text. They naturally deal with some linguistic problems; for Sanskrit grammar as such there

was nothing to change. Certain original drawbacks, like the omission of the accent which Prof. Thumb marked only in special cases, could not be removed. After all, the work has rendered great service in the past, and is expected to do so in the future also. Sanskrit words, etc., are given in the original script, which the Indians prefer, and also in the transcription, which the European scholars use. Comparisons in phonology and also in morphology are given mainly from Greek and Latin, these being the most important languages; but also other Indo-European languages are not neglected. Thus one can see in a way the nature and relation of all of them. The plan of the work is very convenient, and the matter has been clothed in a simple garb. In short, the book has a great pedagogic merit, as Prof. Hirt points out.

Jeusen, Hans: *Neupersische Grammatik mit Berücksichtigung der historischen Entwicklung*. Heidelberg 1931. Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung. XVI, 320 p. 8^o.

As to Persian, we feel a greater need for its historical grammar, because it has come under the influence of Arabic, a language belonging to quite a different family, and has been separated from its parent tongue: Old and Middle Persian. This is the case not only in India, but also in Europe. There are a number of good, bad, and indifferent what they call descriptive grammars of the Persian language, but for its historical treatment we have only the contribution of Horn to the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* (1898). Earlier attempts of Vullers and Darmesteter are antiquated, though not so the excellent *Phonology* in Hübschmann's *Persische Studien* (1895). This deficiency is due to the fact that owing to the nature of the Persian literature, it is cultivated by the Arabists and not by the Iranists. Even the present work of Prof. H. Jensen,

Neupersische Grammatik, does not claim to be a historical grammar, but it at least takes into account the historical development; forms, etc., are compared with their origins. The author should and could have added the phonology from the above-mentioned Grundriss just as he has done with other things. As a descriptive grammar, too, his work is not without defects. He has laid under contribution all the well known works of the kind, (I miss, however, the joint work of Platt and Ranking, and also the latter's Primer of Persian), and has himself gathered some materials from a few standard authors, both classical and modern. The usages of the vulgar and colloquial speech are similarly noted, especially from Phillott's Higher Persian Grammar. The most useful chapters are those that deal with the syntax about which very little is written. The Persian part is in Persian character with full diacritical marks, though not always clear and not without misprints. The addition of transcription would have served a double purpose. The statement of grammatical and other facts is so simple and clear that both the beginner and the advanced can use the book with advantage. These few lines, we hope, will be enough for introducing it to our readers; on some other occasion we may review it more fully and critically, especially with reference to the historical part.

Waldschmidt, Ernst, and W. Lentz : Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus. Berlin 1926. Walter de Gruyter
131 p. and 4 plates, gr. 8^o.

It was owing to sheer accident that the notice of this work was not given earlier. The authors deal with the position of Jesus in the religion of Mani, and that on the basis of the great roll preserved in London. This roll contains the Chinese version of a Middle Persian text, the greater part of which was in verse form as can be seen

from its mechanical preservation in the Chinese translation. One of the hymns is only transcribed in Chinese letters, which is as interesting as instructive for the phonology of Pahlavi. Besides giving the contents of the roll, the authors quote many passages from this text and other Iranian fragments and discuss them. A list of these is given at the end, but the index of words is unfortunately omitted. The Iranian fragments include also Sogdian pieces. The importance of the work is self-evident, for which the authors deserve best thanks.

Markwart, J.: A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānshahr. (Pahlavi Text, Version and Commentary). Edited by G. Messina, Rome 1931. Pontificio Istituto Biblico. 120 p. 4^o.

The late Prof. Markwart was a great authority on Iranian geography. His numerous works on the subject are full of research and are recognised as standard works. Hence the treatment of the Pahlavi text on the cities of Iran from his pen cannot but be welcome. We are thankful to Father Messina that he has edited this work of the great master. Therein are given a critical edition of the text—of course not from the MSS. but from the edition in Pahlavi Texts of Dastur Jamaspji Jamasp Asana—together with its transliteration and translation into English, and a detailed commentary. The index is prepared by Father Messina. It is unnecessary to enter into details here, for I shall have to do this in the publication of my prize-essay on the same text. It may, however, be added that the earlier ideograms are also transliterated into Hebrew and the later ones into Syriac letters, when they occur for the first time in the text. There are also other devices in the transliteration to mark the original orthography. The work is lithographed and not printed, apparently because of the use of various alphabets.

Reichelt, Hans: Die sogdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums. In Umschrift und mit Übersetzung II. Teil...Heidelberg 1931, Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung. VIII, 80 p. gr. 8°.

The first part of this work contained Buddhist texts. In the present part are given non-Buddhist texts and a supplement to the Buddhist texts. The former are the private letters and a fragment of an unknown legend about Rustam and his horse Raxš. Special pains are taken for the elucidation of the Sogdian letters. Copious notes are added to the translation and a complete glossary is also given. In the introduction Prof. Reichelt deals with the peculiarities of the script and the language of the letters, with the names of persons, peoples, and places occurring therein, and with their form, age, etc. Two of the letters are written by women, and they refer to personal affairs; others, dealing with business matters, come from men of different status. All this points to the importance of the documents from the standpoint of cultural history. Two fragments in Uiguri script are left untranslated. Facsimiles of all of them are given for the sake of control. One of the two Buddhist texts is a fragment of Vajracchedikâ, various versions of which, like the Sakâ one published by Prof. Konow, are also given here for comparison. With the publication of this work Prof. Reichelt has rendered great service to the cause of Sogdian. Now we eagerly look for his dictionary of this language.

Miller, W., and A. Freiman: Ossetisch-russisch-deutsches Wörterbuch (Osetinsko-Russko-Nemetskij Slovar) Herausgegeben und ergänzt von A. Freiman II. Leningrad, Izdatelstwo Akademii Nauk SSSR. 1929. VI, 619-1176 p. gr. 8°.

The first part of this monumental work was reviewed on a former occasion. Accidentally, the notice of the second

part was not given earlier. Prof. Freiman has again taken great pains in collecting further materials for the dictionary. Forms of both the dialects, Ironian and Digorian, are noted whenever met with. I need not repeat all that I have said in my detailed German review to be published in the *Indogermanische Forschungen*, but some interesting words, etc., may be noted to show the importance of the language for Iranistie.

Izâr means 'evening', cf. Av. *uzayara* which word is not preserved in MP. and NP. where quite another term is used: *aḍapârak*, *êvâra*. There is a very important word *ird* 'light, clear, bright', inasmuch as it has preserved the original meaning of Av. *arəta*, *aša* (celestial) light, light (of bliss).' (See this Journal, No. 23, p. 293f.) It is also interesting to note that 'quite naked' is expressed 'naked as born from the mother' just as in NP., Gujarati, etc. The Ossetic is *madard bûynâg*, NP. is *lut i mādarzâd*. Then there are words that allow us to make additions in the phonology of the language; others show some interesting developments in their meanings. The author quotes a great mass of popular sayings, proverbs, etc., which give us an insight into the life of the people.

After the publication of the third and last part, we hope that Prof. Freiman will oblige us with the etymological work on Ossetic.

Herzfeld, Ernst: *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*. Band IV, Berlin 1931-32. Dietrich Reimer.

The first two parts of the present volume of this excellent publication are devoted to Sakastân or Historical investigations for the Excavations at Kûh i Khwâja. The modern Sistân, a Persian province about the Hâmûn sea, was called Zranka in the Achæmenian Inscriptions. This was the local name of the country; and Prof. Herzfeld,

upholding and extending the view expressed by Tomaschek that *-ng* is added to the stems for the formation of place-names by the Sagzi, says that the name was formed from *Av. zraya-*, *OP. draya-*, "sea". This name occurs as late as 310-11, the date of the Pahlavi inscription of Šāhpuhr Sakānšāh from the words "Persian nobles and Sakā nobles and Zrangians." Prof. Herzfeld points out that Zrang was only a part of Sakastān about the extent of which kingdom he now adds that Cabul also belonged to it. It is first in the early 'Arabic' geographers that the wider term Sijistān is restricted to modern Sistān; such is also the case in the Pahlavi tract on Sagastān, but Prof. Herzfeld does not consider it earlier than the Arabic sources.

With the ethnic sense Sakā-country occurs the name Sakastanē first in Isidoros where the Parthian provinces are described, the last three being Zarangianē, Sakastanē, and Arachosia. Prof. Herzfeld here examines the question of the sources of these details, and comes to the conclusion that in the last century before Christ the eastern frontier of the Parthian empire was the same as the modern Afghan-British, and that the satrapy Sakastanē was only the western division of ancient Arachosia, and that the name was ethnic-political which fact was possible only after the colonisation of the Sakā in that part of the kingdom.

The next point that is discussed here is about the Sakā up to the time of Alexander. The Inscriptions of Darius and the records of Herodotus leave no doubt that long before the time of Darius the Sakā had a satrapy of their own in the empire. The legends about the death of Cyrus may be interpreted as or connected with the struggles for the annexation of their land. This satrapy was situated in the farthest NE corner of the empire, in *para sugda* as said in the gold inscription of Hamadān. Now *para sugda*, i. e., Trans-Sogdiana can naturally be only

beyond the mountains north of the Zarafshân, in the plains of the Syr Darya. Here then was the seat of the Sakâ, in modern Farghâna. In this connection Prof. Herzfeld critically examines the notices of Herodotus, and declares that they cannot be admitted as counter-arguments; on the contrary, one may consider his Parikanioi in Media too as a Sakâ stem, the one that gave the name Farghâna to the country. As a matter of fact there is no difference of opinion about the seat, etc., of the Sakâ, for Strabo gives the same view in his notice about the nomads that put an end to the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. Thus nothing was changed up to the time of Alexander, although his historians used the term Skythian, which was wrongly applied to several different peoples from the name of the first Central Asian invaders. The Sakâ were one people having linguistic, ethnic, and cultural unity, more closely related to the Iranians than even the Indo-Aryans.

Thirdly the author turns to the Sakâ emigration and examines the date and value of the Chinese sources on the question. With all sorts of details and discussions, which cannot be repeated here, he shows that the Sakâ were driven out from their home-land Farghâna in about 170, and that they settled at last in Arachosia. They must have used the same route which the Indians and the Iranians used before them: from the Oxus to Sarakhs via Marw, and from there to Herat through eastern Parthia or Khorâsân. It is natural then that the Sakâ must have come in conflict with the Arsacide power, and this is now shown by Prof. Herzfeld in the next section.

A Sakâ stem first occupied the western part of Parthia near the Caspian sea, and soon spread over the whole province, from the name of which they then got their own name Parthian. Strabo's description of Ariana shows that the term referred to the Parthian

kingdom of his time, and this term is nothing but *âryân* of the Sasanian inscriptions in the Parthian or Arsacide dialect. After relating the invasion of Antiochos III in Parthia Prof. Herzfeld gives the successful career of Mithradates I. It is not clear that he had to return to the east after the conquest of Media just because of the appearance of the Sakâ; but it is certain that it was this people with whom Phraates II had to deal. It was under Mithradates II that the Sakâ were conquered and their new home-land was included in the kingdom.

For the following period we have no help from the classical authors. Prof. Herzfeld has therefore collected here the data from the coins, etc., of the time. Then he turns to the history of the great families that ruled the different countries as vassals. They were as follows: the family Âturpâtân of Âturpâtân, the family Gêwpuhrân of Hyrcania, the family Kâran of Nihâvand, the family Mihrân of Ray, the family Aspâdpati of Tos, the family Frâdadâr of Pars; the family Sûrên of Sakastân. In connection with their relation to Mithradates the Great, the monument of this king at Bistûn is discussed and some of the vassals are identified. After a brief account of the Parthian kingdom under the female line follows a detailed account about the Sakâ and Sûrên in Sakastân under these themes: The coins before the time of Gundofarr; the titles 'king's brother' and 'brother's son', with reference to the Mathurâ inscription; the order of the kings before Gundofarr who was a Parthian, a Sûrên, and those were the Sakâ; the date of the Indian conquests of the Sakâ—the Śaka era; Gundofarr becomes independent on the one hand, and subdues a number of Sakâ princes on the other; his coins, some with king's brother, others with the king's nephew. After his son and successor Pakores, the Sakâ kingdom is divided into the Iranian part and the Indian

part, though Sindh remains with the former. Prof. Herzfeld says that although the loss of Gandhâra and the Panjab was due to the Kûšân, the real fall of the Sakâ kingdom was the reannexation of the Iranian part together with Sindh to the Parthian kingdom under Volagases I. In the episode of Rustam and Aspandiyâr the author sees this struggle. It was Prof. Markwart who suggested that the figure of Vištâspa was based upon the historical person of Volagases I. Prof. Herzfeld develops this view. The king's brother Tiridates is Aspandiyâr, and so to say the rebel prince Gundofarr is Rustam.

This interesting subject has been treated in the last chapter: Gundofarr in Legends and Sagas. Besides the Šâhnâma the following are connected with the subject: The Acts of Thomas, the legend of the Three Holy Kings, the Alexander Romance, and the Apollonius Novel. The ruins of Kûh i Khwâja, popularly known as the Castle of Rustam, are to be connected with Gundofarr.

The third and last part of the volume contains the following articles: Abdication of Darius, Old and New Mistakes,—both referring to the new inscription of Xerxes found at Persepolis, and Post-Sasanian inscriptions—that of Mil i Râdkân and those on silver bowls or dishes. The first article is the German version of "A New Inscription of Xerxes from Persepolis" (reviewed below); the second deals with some grammatical irregularities therein as well as in the inscription of Âryâramna. Prof. Herzfeld emphasises that the mistakes in the latter piece are such as were made by the people in their daily speech, whereas those in the former are the wrong constructions of the learned. The inscriptions of Darius are as a rule correct, simply because the scholars of his time were better, adds the author. With this generalisation supported by palæographical facts which can be observed in the originals (photographs, etc.)

only, he refutes the view held by Prof. Schaefer. I have already referred to this controversy in my review of Volume II (in this Journal, No. 22). It is not necessary to dwell on it in detail, but the title, etc. of Prof. H. H. Schaefer's pamphlet should be given: "Über die Inschrift des Ariaramnes", published in the *Sitzungsberichten der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil.-Hist. Klasse* 1931, XXIII.

The Pahlavi inscription of Mil i Râdkân bears especial interest from the standpoint of palaeography. Its photograph is given, and Prof. Herzfeld has added its copy together with Book Pahlavi and Modern Persian equivalents. As to inscriptions of the silver bowls or dishes, no photographs are given. All of these are fully discussed. The main facts may be reproduced in a separate article. That would be a better course than to attempt a summary as in the case of the first two parts.

It is not at all necessary to add even a single word as to the high value of this work. It is a real pity that there is no index without which one cannot find the numerous details scattered throughout the volume.

Herzfeld, Ernst: *Iranische Denkmäler I. 1*. Berlin 1932.
Dietrich Reimer.

In the very first part of his *Archaeological Mitteilungen aus Iran*, Prof. Herzfeld promised to issue a parallel series on the monuments of Persia. The discussions and theories may be revised sooner or later; and therefore it was a wise plan to keep the original monuments distinct from the discussion on same. Prof. Herzfeld could not proceed with this second series all this time, because, as he once wrote to the present writer, he had no technical assistance in Persia. But now the first fascicle lies before us. This great work is being published by the enterprising firm of D.

Reimer under the patronage of the *Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft* and the *Archäologische Institut des Deutschen Reiches*. The materials collected by Prof. Herzfeld since 1923 are immense and the task of publishing them seems almost impossible. But those who know the author's working capacity have little doubt about its fulfilment. The materials will be reproduced on plates with short and purely descriptive text. They will be arranged chronologically in the following groups:

1. Prehistorical monuments from five different localities;
2. Pre-Achæmenian rock monuments;
3. Achæmenian monuments in three sub-groups;
4. Seleucide-Arsacide monuments;
5. Sasanian monuments in three sub-groups;
6. Islamic monuments.

The beginning is made with the first group, for the publication of these most ancient materials was more urgent for the problems that have arisen through the recent excavations in China, India, Babylonia, Hittite territory, and Europe. They clear up the connections between great cultural developments. The ruins chiefly relating to ceramic art were excavated from a hillock near Persepolis dating from the stone age. They are reproduced here in 18 folio plates; and their description, etc. occupies 7 pages. The price 18 RM. can be called quite moderate for this highly important work which should find its place in every great public library.

Herzfeld, Ernst: *A New Inscription of Xerxes from Persepolis*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago [1932]. 14 p. with 5 plates.

The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago has already been carrying on field researches in Anatolia, the western half of the Highland Zone, for some seven years. With the discovery and publication of the present royal record is marked its entrance upon a new field of

investigation, *viz.*, in the eastern half of the Highland Zone. For this purpose the Institute has secured the experienced co-operation of Prof. Herzfeld. Let us hope that many discoveries will be brought through this happy combination.

The new inscription is the foundation document discovered in the so-called "south-east palace" of Persepolis which is now proved to have been the harem of Darius and Xerxes. The tablet contains 48 lines in Old Persian. Its photograph from a squeeze is given here on two plates; the other plates show Xerxes as heir to the throne leaving the palace, then as Great King in the same condition, and lastly as Co-regent standing beside Darius enthroned as Great King.

This inscription is not free from grammatical irregularities, which are not discussed here, but only in the German study reviewed above. The historical details, however, are given a due prominence. They are: 1. The father and grandfather of Darius were living when he became king; 2. Xerxes was appointed heir to the throne, although there were other (elder) sons; 3. Xerxes ascended the throne 'when Darius went away from the throne'. The first two facts are not new; but their interpretation by Prof. Herzfeld is novel. He says that "the succession was in contradiction of old custom and usage" and that "it was sanctified only by a special expression of Ahuramazdâ's will (*kâma*)". Now as to Darius's father and grandfather, they cannot have any right to the throne gained by him through his own courage and power from a third party. As to Xerxes, there was not only the influence of his mother, but also the argument suggested by Demaratus that "he (X.) was born to Darius after he had become king, and was possessed of the empire of the Persians; whereas Artabazanes was born to Darius while he was yet a private

person." (Herodotus VII. 3). In any case, Prof. Herzfeld unnecessarily emphasises and perhaps misinterprets "by the grace of Ahuramazdâ." As to the third statement wherein he sees the abdication of Darius he is certainly wrong. This is not only unknown to Greeks, but even the Babylonian business documents do not allow such an occurrence. Moreover, the tone of Xerxes would be quite different—not so full of reverence and respect for his father, had there been an abdication. Prof. Herzfeld cannot but see this conclusion, because he is mistaken in believing that *gāθu* does not occur in the sense of 'place' in Old Persian, which it very often does. It is quite possible that 'to depart from the place' is an euphemism for 'to die', but where is the novelty or necessity of this fact being mentioned?

Prof. Benveniste offers another suggestion in his excellent study on this inscription, in the *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*, 1932, p. 150. He connects the clause in question with the appointment of Xerxes as regent when Darius was to march against Egypt shortly before his death, that is, Darius left the throne to him, but without any idea of abdication. This is more probably in the light of Herodotus VII, 2, but one might feel that the event should have been expressed differently. It may also be added that Prof. Benveniste explains some words in another manner, e.g. *apīiy*, which is taken by Prof. Herzfeld as *apiy*, "also", is read *apayaiy*, "preserved", which is better.

Meillet, A., and E. Benveniste: *Grammaire du Vieux-Perse*. 2. Edition. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion 1931. P. XXIV, 266, 8°.

The well-known French comparative philologist Prof. Meillet published his excellent grammar of the Old Persian Language in 1915. The edition, it is true, was limited to 300 copies; but its being out of print within a short time

must be considered unique and significant in the case of such a work, and so it speaks volumes in favour thereof. Scholars and public institutions in the various parts of the world strived to secure copies of this valuable book, but we very much doubt whether a single person in Bombay and for the matter of that in India cared for same. We hope, however, that no such negligence will be shown now, when a thoroughly revised and enlarged edition is again available. This new task was entrusted to the prominent, all-round Iranist Prof. Benveniste who has carried it out most successfully. He has availed himself of the new inscriptions brought to light and made accessible in recent years as well as of the new researches in later Iranian dialects, which have made a considerable progress. Thus he has added a greater number of details on the one hand, and has more precisely tackled the dialectal question on the other. Some of the paragraphs are entirely new, those on numerals, prepositions and adverbs.

After a principal bibliography there follows a very learned introduction occupying some thirty-six pages. Originally it was my intention to mention some salient points from it, but it would be much better to translate the whole of it, which task might best be done separately and not in a review.

The grammatical part deals with phonology, accentuation, and also syntax. The treatment is of course from the standpoint of comparative philology; and there is no lack of details. Besides, the reader will find therein solution of difficult words and passages. The index of discussed words is given at the end. One point is missing: we should have liked to know what the authors think of the theory of Prof. Friedrich of Leipzig who tried to scan the inscriptions according to the laws of Avestan metre some years ago.

We close this brief notice with sincere thanks to the authors and with the hope and belief that their grammar may serve as a great impetus to the further and deeper study of the Old Persian inscriptions which are coming to light in greater numbers.

Hertel, Johannes: *Yašt 14, 16, 17. Text Übersetzung und Erleuterung. Mithra und Fraxša (=Indo-Iranische Quellen und Forschungen VII.)*
Leipzig, H. Haessel 1932. P. XXVI, 258. 8°.

In this and the following work Prof. Hertel continues his meritorious and successful labours towards the new interpretation of the Avesta. There are a number of scholars who do not see eye to eye with the learned author. but none of them has sufficiently tried to point out where and how far the novel views and theories put forward by him are erroneous. It is quite possible that certain matters are stretched too far, but generally speaking I am convinced of the correctness and at all events of the usefulness of Prof. Hertel's researches. On several occasions I have had opportunities to show how the later Iranian writings, especially those in Pahlavī, find mutual support and help from them, not only in the doctrine of fire and light, but sometimes also in other details.

It may be supposed that hardly anything new can be said about the Yašts in question; and yet the reader will find many an interesting and instructive detail in the introduction and notes added to them. The texts are transcribed with due regard to metrical and other laws, and they are translated anew. Moreover, there are special investigations on the following terms: Sk. *čitti*-, *čitti* "radiation of the (im)mortal light powers", Av. *cisti*- "illumination, elucidation", and the cognate words; Av. *râ*-, "to radiate celestial light" and the cognate words ;

Sk. *sap-*, Av. *hap-* "to ablaze"; Sk. *rtâ-*, Av. *ašî-*, "the celestial light already radiated on earth" as distinguished from *aša-*, "all-embracing celestial light to be found both in heaven and on earth" (for this term see his *Beiträge* reviewed in No. 23 of this Journal); Av. *varəθrayna-*, "killing of enemies"; Av. *čistâ-*, "the radiated radiation", being an abbreviation of *čistiš*, *čistâ*. The last two terms are fully examined in order to grasp the true signification of their respective Yašts. The former of them represents a fire of victory which cult has superseded another fire of victory, namely, the *hvarənah*. (The present writer has given some details on the relation, etc. of the two cults in Orient. *Literaturzeitung* 1933, col. 563, especially from the *Kārnamay*.) The figure has nothing to do with Sk. *Vṛtrahan* with which episode Prof. Hertel connects that of *Erəxša*. The second term *čistâ-* refers to the light of perception or discernment and as such is identical with *daēnâ- mązdayasni-*; hence the title *dēn yašt*. As usual the author has added the lists of discussed passages and words (this time with their meanings) and other things. The Foreword, it should be noted, contains a very useful table showing the real and original value and misuse of Av. letters, the latter being due partly to letter-glosses as shown by Prof. Hertel and partly to other known reasons. In short, the present work like its predecessors will form a constant reference book for which we are thankful not only to the learned author, but also to the enterprising publisher who brought it out, since it was not possible to include it in the following work.

Hertel, Johannes: *Die Awestischen Herrschafts und Siegesfeuer. Mit Text, Übersetzung und Erleuterung von Yašt 18 und 19 (=Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. Kl. der sächsischen Akad. d. Wissenschaften. Bd. XLI Nr. VI). Leipzig, S. Hirzel 1931. P. XVI, 206. 4°.*

In this work the Yašts 18 and 19 are treated in the same manner as in the preceding work. Their theme is expressed in the title of the work: The Fire of Sovereignty and Victory in the Avesta, namely, the *X'arənah* or as is now read *hvarənah*. Xenophon's relation about the appearance of a light which assured the Iranian army of victory over the enemy whom it pursued is identified with the belief in this divinity in the Foreword. A somewhat similar account I have quoted from the *Kār-nāmay* in the above-mentioned place. It is this sign which is depicted in the form of flames around the heads of kings and prophets—also in the non Iranian countries, for instance, in India where it is called *tejas*. And everywhere it points to physical strength and power, and not to holiness as is generally believed. Yt. 19 consists of three distinct parts: like the initial formula, the first eight paragraphs are the latest addition. This is made with the object of including the whole Persian territory, occupied by the mountains mentioned in them, in the beneficial effects of the offer ceremony. Hence also the title *Zam Yašt*: *Yašt* for (the possession and prosperity of) the earth. The second addition consists of §§ 45-69 treating of the lightless (*ahîrta*.) *hvarənah*; the rest the royal one. All this is here shown in and with a critical analysis which should be read and studied fully. Yt. 18 is one of the latest pieces composed in corrupt language. Its title is not properly explained, for if Av. *arštāt* were to mean "uprightness, justness", we absolutely fail to see anything of it in the contents of the piece. Prof. Hertel therefore derives it from *ar*-, "to radiate (celestial light)", and signifies it as "the condition of being radiated, (regular) radiation". This suits the theme of the text, namely, the Aryan or Iranian *hvarənah*; and the epithets of the Yazata "furtherer of the world", etc., also support that.

After the treatment of these Yašts there is given a special dissertation on *hvarənah-*; and then follow similar ones on *apām napāt-* (the fire of lightning) in the Avesta and in the R̥gveda, and, in this connection, on *Nairya-samba-*, *xšaθra-naptar-* etc., the former with its Indian parallels. Hereby many a passage is fully discussed and translated. As an appendix is added 'The Fire of Sovereignty in Manu's Law Book'. In short, not only the Iranist but also the Indianist will welcome this erudite work.

Kent, Roland G.: The recently published Old Persian Inscriptions. (Reprinted from Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 51, pages 189-240).

Prof. Kent of the University of Pennsylvania, who has done some useful work in the field of ancient Iranian languages, offers here his study and researches on the Old Persian Inscriptions recently published by Father V. Scheil in the 21st Vol. of 'Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse.' Father Scheil's own work on them with some additional matter is made accessible in English by Dr. Unvala, but that being a pioneer attempt is faulty in various respects. Prof. Roland takes us a step further both in restoration and interpretation of the texts, whereby he avails himself of Prof. Benveniste's article on them in the 'Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris', 30. But later on Prof. Herzfeld, who strongly criticizes, Father Scheil's method of restoration and publication, has offered us a very careful edition of the principal inscription in all the three versions with a detailed commentary in his 'Archæologische Mitteilungen aus Iran,' Band 3. He has called it there 'Die Magna Charta von Susa', which might mislead English readers. I regret that in my short notice thereon in this Journal I forgot to add that the inscription in question is a record of the palace, mentioning the

materials and the peoples employed in its construction. It may be observed that the two scholars widely differ in the restoration of this highly important and no less interesting document. Prof. Herzfeld is of course an experienced archæologist and has also command over the languages in question. His views therefore deserve our first attention. Moreover, Prof. Roland's restoration is only provisional and, as he informs me, he is preparing a supplementary article. In the present work he has treated also the minor inscriptions, and added a grammatical summary on the one hand and concordance and glossary on the other. Thus he has supplied a companion volume to Tolman's standard work on the former inscriptions in English.

Christensen, Arthur: 'Les Kayanides'. Copenhagen 1932. P. 165. 8^o.

With reference to the date of Zoroaster and early history of Iran the personages designated as Kavis in the Avesta play an important part. Prof. Herzfeld sees in them nothing but the representations of Median and early Persian kings known in history. Thus he does not only identify the kings of the same name, *viz.*, Vištâspa with Hystaspes, but also of different names, *e.g.*, Haosravah with Cyrus. But Prof. Christensen holds that the legendary traits in the history of these kings, which are attributed to the Kayânids in Middle Persian and other books, are quite ancient themes, partly Indo-Iranian or even Indo-European and partly perhaps borrowed from non-Iranian peoples; and that these themes, having always preserved their popularity, recur often. They, therefore, do not mean the identification of the persons to whom they are applied. Nor does the similarity in names prove much, for ancient names are fondly given to children. But the main argument with which Prof. Christensen rejects the

identification of the two Vištâspas is based on Prof. Benveniste's contention that there is no trace of Zoroaster's reform in the religion of the Achæmenids. This is, I believe, an extreme view based on rather slender and negative evidence. Prof. Herzfeld stands on the other extreme when he sees allusions to the words of the prophet in the inscriptions of Darius and others, both in and out of season. However this may be, everybody will welcome the present monograph wherein the religious as well as the national tradition of the Kayânids is laid bare in a lucid manner. Some side-issues are also discussed, *e. g.*, on the sources of the Greater Bundahišn. (As to note 2 on p. 84 I may here add that my second communication on the passage in question did not reach Prof. Christensen; I have given it now in another connection, see my forthcoming 'Sûr Sax'an' or "A Dinner-Speech", in Middle Persian.) The remarks on the composition of the Yašts are also worth noting: three main elements are distinguished and ascertained in the older pieces, *viz.*, original or pre-Zoroastrian matter, early Zoroastrian additions, and later additions. As to the crucial family name *naotara*, Prof. Christensen does not consider "younger [branch]" as its suitable meaning; he even doubts whether Vištâspa belonged to this family or not. He however places him (and with him of course Zoroaster) in the beginning of the Achæmenian era, for no Kavi is mentioned after him. and therefore this eastern dynasty must have fallen into decay and ultimately the territory was annexed by the new power.

Minorsky, V.: 'La Domination des Dailamites'. Paris 1932. Librairie Ernest Leroux. P. 26. 8^o.

This brochure is the third number of the 'Publications de la Société des Etudes Iraniennes et de l'Art Persan'. The first two numbers are not available to me, therefore the

third only is being noticed here. It is from the pen of that well-known authority on Persian geography and history Prof. Minorsky. The subject is the little known history of the Dailamites. Their country is still less known. It is not the district of Dailamân in Gilân, which is a mere rest or even a colony of ancient Dailam which extended far in the south and the east. This Iranian tribe exercised a great influence between 928 and 1055. The Dailamites and especially the dynasty of the Bûyids freed the country from the foreign yoke, and ushered the era of Persian renaissance, just as the Samanids had done a little before in the eastern part of the country. Prof. Minorsky has put together all the details about the country and the people, their origin and spread, domination and downfall. The authorities are cited at the end in the form of notes.

Junker, H.: Ein Bruchstück der Âfrînaghàn i Gâhân-bâr (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Säch. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Kl. 84. Band, 5. Heft, 1932) S. Hirzel. Leipzig 1932.

The main interest of this fragment lies in its being written in a peculiar script and orthography, whereby an attempt is made to phonetically express the sounds of later Middle Persian with Pahlavi signs and diacritical marks. As a rule this is done with the rich and unambiguous Avesta alphabet, the process or the result being known as the Pâzand. Prof. Junker means to say that there was no fixed system for this Pâzand or transliteration, and that the regularity in the *škand gumânîy rizâr* is due to its being an original composition and not a transliteration. This, I believe, is not a correct view. That the said text is a transliteration from the original Pahlavi is attested by none other than Neryosang himself at the beginning of its Sanskrit version. Only the original Pahlavi is not preserved by chance. This we have for the *Dâdastân i mênûy*.

î *xraδ*, the Pâzand of which is even superior. The fact is that only the later attempts at transliteration are poor in more than one respect owing to the natural deterioration of the knowledge of the language. As to the prayer texts there was also another reason: copyists more often than not wrote what they had learnt by heart for recitation, and not from the MS. before them; and their recitation was no doubt far from exact owing to changed circumstances.

Secondly, the fragment is not prepared direct from its Pahlavi original, but from the Pâzand of the latter. (Prof. Junker perhaps means the same thing when he speaks of the dependence of the new process on the Pâzand model, p. 14.) For the justification of my view one has only to mark certain orthographical and other peculiarities (*e.g.* the old *d* appearing as the *t* with a dot above it) which occur only in pseudo-Pahlavi texts re-transcribed from the Pâzand. Such attempts are met with in MSS. found in India and prepared by Indian Dasturs: whereas nothing of the sort is known from the pen of their Persian brethren. Therefore the present attempt must be attributed to an Indian scribe. Prof. Junker however sees Persia as the origin because of the *â* pronunciation of *â* or *ô* occurring in the fragment. But this phenomenon can be otherwise accounted for: the Pâzand with the said peculiarity was prepared in Persia, and from it the present attempt in India.

In order to give a phonetical garb and value to the text a number of extra signs and diacritical marks are laid under contribution. Some of these marks are occasionally used in the Pahlavi MSS. for the sake of clearness. The points in different numbers and different positions are adopted from the Modern Persian alphabet; but the mark for the *d* sound is derived by Prof. Junker from the Sasanian or Parsi *d* sign of the inscriptions. I do not see any sufficient reason for this proposition. Like the other diacritical marks

that for *d* also must have been brought into use by the copyists, who of course knew nothing about the inscriptions. Its origin too must be seen in the Modern Persian script; we may take it as a turned or curved *d* of the latter. But it may be argued why and how the copyists came to designate the *d* sound when it was long changed into that of *y*. This might point to the earlier origin of the diacritical mark, and consequently to the view of Prof. Junker.

Prof. Junker first ascertains the value and use of the extra signs, etc. Then he transcribes the fragment adding variorum readings from parallel pieces. Lastly he gives the translation with critical and exegetical notes. All this he has done with his usual thoroughness and one can gather a rich harvest from it. It is a pity that the author has not added any index. We cannot enter into details here, but one point may be mentioned by way of illustration. Prof. Junker rejects the etymology of *gâhânbâr* given by Prof. Nyberg, viz., "*gâhân* or *gâdâ* bearing", and suggests that the word has resulted from *gâhân-hanbâr* by means of a haplogical disappearance of one syllable. I on my part believe that the original word is to be separated into *gâh* and *(h)anbâr*, "season-collection or meeting (festival)"; *gâhân* is not necessary and even less suitable. Also the Pâzand or traditional transcription in Av. and NP. alphabet, viz., *gâhanbâr* or *gahanbâr*, supports my view; and so does the varying orthography in the present fragment.

The author has done a further service in giving the original in facsimile. It will be of some use for Iranian palæography, besides enabling us to clearly see how the highly ambiguous Pahlavi script is made more or less intelligible and unequivocal. The attempt is not particularly happy; and it is very probably a specimen of an

individual person and not that of a school. However this may be, Prof. Junker deserves our thanks for making it available in such an excellent manner.

Konow, Sten: *Saka Studies*. Oslo 1932 (Agents: Luzac & Co.) P. VII, 198. 4°. £ 1-5-0.

Up to the beginning of the present century we knew nothing about the language of the peoples or tribes referred to as Sakā in the ancient writings. It was from the fund of manuscript remains brought from Chinese Turkistan that this unknown tongue like several others has been brought to light. Prof. Konow, who has published a number of the texts in this language, called it in the beginning Old Kotani from the place where the MSS. were found. Prof. Leumann, who too had a lion's share in the same direction, named it persistently and throughout North Aryan, believing that it was a third independent Aryan tongue beside the Indian and the Iranian in the east and the west respectively. Prof. Lüders however designated it as the language of the Sakās who occupied North-west India from the first century A.C. and the names of whose kings—i. e., of the Sakā Kṣatrapas—showed the same characteristic traits as this new tongue. And Prof. Reichelt supported this view in his brilliant sketch of the language which he supplied us in 1912 from the scanty materials that were then available. He demonstrated there that the language, when freed from the numerous Indian loan-words, appears as one of the eastern Iranian dialects.

The Sakā texts and fragments, like those of the sister dialect, the Sogdian, also known from the same fund, are in the main translations of Buddhist works; but unlike them, they are in the Brāhmī script. Since this script contains different signs for the different quality and quantity of vowels, it affords a great help as regards phonology. In the present

work Prof. Konow gives us the fragments of the *Samghāṭa-sūtra* along with their English translation and Tibetan version. A part of these fragments is already published by Prof. Leumann and others; but the rest, procured by Sir George Macartney, is quite new. Another small but interesting piece deals with the religious signification and value of the letters. But the most important part, for which the present work will remain the author's *magnum opus* in the field of Sakā studies, is the exhaustive grammar—phonology, accidence, etc.—and the complete glossary of all the known texts. This will indeed supply a much broader basis for the further and deeper study of the language, which task the author very modestly leaves to a comparative philologist well versed in the Iranian dialects, old and new. But Prof. Konow has not totally left out etymologies and the like. These may of course be corrected and supplemented from the materials supplied and arranged by him. I have done this in German for several words. See 'Orientalistische Literaturzeitung'. We are indeed very thankful to the great Norwegian scholar for his excellent work, and hope that other scholars too will oblige us by publishing the texts in their charge.

Herzfeld, E. : 'Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran.'

Band V. p 152. RM 20. Berlin 1932-33, Dietrich Reimer.

The fifth volume of this very important publication contains some essays in Old Oriental Archaeology, which have arisen from Prof. Herzfeld's contribution 'Kunst Vorderasiens' to the new edition of Müller's 'Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft' by Walter Otto. Both should be read together for properly appreciating and understanding the views of the author. The first essay is entitled History and Pre-History, the second is on Seals. But these studies are not the only things to be found here;

the last part contains three other articles which deal with Iranian history and Iranian art.

Leaving aside the brief notes on some recent studies, we shall examine the first article only. The details about Smerdis and pseudo-Smerdis are subjected to a critical examination, and with great ingenuity the conflicting views are brought into harmony and unity. As to the Old Persian account given by King Darius, we may note that Prof. Herzfeld reads the ambiguous word *ârika-* or *âraika-* as *âhraika*, and translates it as "Ahrimanian," see the discussion in Vol. 3, p. 76 f. Bartholomae already derives the term from *ahra- anra-*, although he takes it in the sense of "inimical"; whereas Meillet and Benveniste simply think of Sk. *ari-* "enemy". In this connection we may note that the corresponding Babylonian version is "of wicked heart", which too points to the religious rather than to the political shade or origin of the idea. Secondly, scholars have been in doubt whether accident or suicide is referred to in the statement that Cambyzes died "by his own death", the doubt being raised from the account of Herodotus, 3. 64. This runs as follows: "But as he was leaping on his horse, the chape of his sword's scabbard fell off, and the blade, being laid bare, struck the thigh; being wounded in that part where he himself had formerly smitten the Egyptian God Apis." Now, as Prof. Herzfeld observes, the last point shows that the legend of accident is fabricated by the Egyptian enemies of Cambyzes, and therefore we need not attempt to harmonise it with the above statement which clearly speaks of suicide, "one's own death" (*x*)*uvâmršiyuš*, cf. (*x*)*uvâipašiya* "one's own possession or property". Then in Ctesias's notice, that Cyrus appointed the second son Tanyoxarkes as a governor of eastern provinces free from tribute, beside the first son as the king, Prof. Herzfeld

sees the reason why the latter murdered his brother. It should also be noted that Cambyzes himself was a wretch both bodily and mentally, whereas Smerdis was well-known for his herculean strength and gigantic body to which points his just mentioned epithet and other stories. Moreover Prof. Herzfeld applies the supposed name Patizeithes to him as his title *pâtiyâzâti*-, expressing his right to the throne. The two other names that occur in this drama, viz., Gometes and Oropasta, are taken to be the name and the title of the Magus. The former requires no explanation; the latter has a variant Coropasta which Prof. Herzfeld compares with Av. *kərəθwan*, and explains as Cor[d]opasta, "vice-regent (of the empire)", appointed by Cambyzes during his Egyptian expedition. There remains the last name Spendadates which is Spentôdâta, the son of Vištâspa, in the Av. and later religious and legendary literature. The only person in the drama to whom it can be applied is King Darius, which is his throne name, the other being his original name.

Here I have mentioned only some of the principal facts deduced by the great scholar in this essay the whole of which should be reproduced with explanatory additions. This is however not the occasion for it. There is one doubtful point: as to the Letter of Tansar the author says that it is translated from Pahlavi, whereas the common view is that it is done from the Arabic version thereof. And this is true, otherwise there would not have been such rich use of Arabic words in the extant form. Hence the argument about *framân i šâhân* does not hold good, even if we do not press the great difference between this term and *pôryôtkêšân*. One cannot too much praise the work done by this all-round author.

Andreas, F. C., and Walter Henning: *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan I, II*. Berlin 1932-1933. P. 50 and 72. 80.

In 1904 when the late Prof. F. W. K. Müller deciphered some fragments in an unknown script brought to Berlin from Chinese Turkistan, it was known that they were composed in the Middle Persian language and that they dealt with the defunct religion of Mani. In the same year he published a pretty large number of these fragments in transcription and translation; but ever since then nothing was done for the rest of them, except some occasional study on an individual fragment. The late Prof. Salemann adopted a much better method of making the original fragments accessible in facsimile at Leningrad besides their transcription and translation, with glossary, etc. It was, moreover, he who re-edited the materials supplied by Prof. Müller, constructing grammar, glossary and other useful matter. The task of bringing out some further fragments in Berlin was entrusted to the late Prof. Andreas of Göttingen, but he as well as the first decipherer disappointed the learned world, since they did not publish the result of their labours during their life-time. Happily, however, Prof. Andreas instructed several of his pupils in the mysteries of these documents; and one of them Dr. Henning has now published the text in Hebraic transcription with German translation, copious notes from parallel sources, and complete glossary. The fragments are in the SW dialect, and hence useful for our Pahlavi. Those treated in the first part deal with cosmogony, those in the second with diverse matters like the superiority of Mani's own religion, the first three out of the ten commandments for the auditors, *i. e.*, laymen, dogmas on the relation of the soul, body, and "spirit of the body" and about the necessity of knowledge for salvation (this part is said to be in Mazdean style), missionary activities, duties, etc., of the laymen, and lastly some hymns. This gives some idea of the importance of

the work which is very much increased by the learned notes and references from other sources. Then there occur new words and forms that are sure to interest the student of the language. We really regret that one has to look for them in both the parts. The author could have given the glossary in one place with necessary marks for novel terms; or he should have added a special note on them. To do this here in a review is also not suitable. But one essential detail may well be mentioned. In the formerly published fragments the word for "there" was *ôd*, *ôð* which led Salemann to declare the Pâzand *ânôy* from *ânôð* as a mistake; but the new fragments contain *ânôh* showing once again that the Pâzand is free from mistakes other than clerical ones. The three plates give specimens of the original in facsimile. In the end let us hope that Dr. Henning may continue his meritorious and successful efforts in this field of studies which he has made his own as can also be seen from his two articles in the 'Göttingen Nachrichten' and Doctor Dissertation in the 'Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik'. For the present publication our thanks are due not only to him, but also to the Berlin Academy for seriously taking up the matter.

Andreas, F. C., and Kaj Barr: Bruchstücke einer Pehlevi Übersetzung der Psalmen. Berlin 1933. P. 64, Plates 11. 8^o.

These highly interesting fragments of a Pahlavi translation of the Psalms were brought by the late Prof. Le Coq along with other Christian manuscripts in Syriac and Sogdian. In 1910 the late Prof. Andreas published a short notice about them identifying the contents for the first time and making some remarks on the script, etc. The translation is done, according to him, neither earlier nor later than the sixth century, for on the one hand it contains the so-called "Farcings" of the Psalms (elsewhere known as

their "Canons") attributed to Mâr Abhâ, the chief of the Syrian Church from 540 to 552, and on the other it exhibits the letters in the same ancient form as on the coins of Xusrav I. But Dr. Barr observes that the fragments contain marks of accent (introduced for the use of the MS. in service) which do not occur in the Syriac MSS. of the sixth century but first in those of the seventh. Moreover, some graphical peculiarities also point to a later date. Prof. Andreas himself intended to edit this unique MS., but somehow or the other he did not translate his intention into action all these years. This work is now done by one of his pupils, Dr. Barr of Copenhagen. He has used the materials left by the former in his own handwriting or in the notes taken down by his pupils. The text is transcribed in Hebraic letters; the Syriac version, from which it is prepared, is interlined; and below is given the German translation. In the critical notes Dr. Barr points out where the text follows other variants and the Hebraic version; and in the glossary he explains all the words with various details. The plates contain the original text in facsimile. This was a very wise plan, for which we are especially thankful to the Berlin Academy which has arranged for the whole publication. Dr. Barr, who has here filled up the gaps found in the materials supplied to him, prepares a full treatment of the language and orthography of these Psalms. This will be a very useful study. In the meantime the present work will serve its full purpose. One general fact may be here repeated that the orthography in this MS. is free from the defect of ambiguity of our Pahlavi MSS., and thus the reading of many a word will be more satisfactorily settled. On the other hand, however, there are pseudo-historical or inverse writings which might lead to wrong conjectures and conclusions. Dr. Barr, we hope, will deal with all these questions before long in his promised study and lay us under further obligation.

Waldschmidt, Ernst, and Wolfgang Lentz: 'Manichäische Dogmatik aus Chinesischen und Iranischen Texten'. Berlin 1933. P. 130. 8°.

The present work is a continuation of what the authors offered in 1926, *viz.*, selections from the Roll of Manichean hymns in Chinese brought to London with Middle Iranian parallels from the Turfan collection at Berlin. Dr. Waldschmidt is responsible for everything essentially Chinese, Dr. Lentz for Iranian. Two hymns from the Roll are made the basis of the present study; the longer one is that of general invocation and praise, the shorter one is used on the receipt of repast. The former refers to the gods of cosmogony as well as to the bringer, the attributes, and effect of salvation. The Chinese text and its translation are given in parallel columns. The detailed commentary is the result of the joint labours of both the authors. The Iranian texts, which are solely treated by Dr. Lentz, fall within three groups: Sogdian, NW. Persian and SW. Persian. They are transcribed in Hebraic and translated into German on the same pages, and then commented upon at large. The texts made available and explained here give a much fuller picture of Manichean dogmas than what is met with elsewhere. They are full of technical terms. The authors have for the present put aside all the religious, historical and linguistic questions that were not absolutely essential. This they propose to do with respect to the present work as well as the former one in the near future. Till then we have here a large collection of materials, explanations and references, for which all concerned will be highly indebted, although it will not be easy to follow same, without any index, etc. We eagerly await the concluding work whereby one may better appreciate the labours spent upon these interesting and important documents. The two plates give the specimens of Sogdian fragments in facsimile. This work too is published by the Berlin Academy.

THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

ANNUAL REPORT, 1933

The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute submits its report for 1933.

Members

At the end of 1932, there were 205 life members. There were seven deaths during the year, besides two in the previous years not recorded. The number was thus 196 at the end of the year.

Out of the 61 ordinary members at the end of 1932, there were two deaths and three resignations during this year. Thus, the number was reduced to 56 at the end of the year.

The Committee records with regret the passing away of the following members:—

Life members

1. Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.D. (28-3-1933),
2. Sorabji Edalji Warden, Esq. (4-4-1933),
3. Gushtasp Kaikhusru Nariman, Esq. (4-4-1933),
4. Dosabhoy Manekji Wadia, Esq. (20-6-1933),
5. Dr. Kavasji Edalji Dadachanji (28-11-1933),
6. Behramji Navroji Gamadia, Esq. (2-12-1933),
7. Kaikhusru Khurshedji Lalkaka, Esq. (30-12-1933).

Ordinary members

1. Hormusji P. Tata, Esq. (27-4-1933),
2. Kaikobad Behramji Marzban, Esq. (4-8-1933).

Trustees of the Institute

1. *Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi,
Kt., C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.D. (1914),
2. *Sorabji Edalji Warden, Esq., J.P. (1914),
3. Kazi Kabiruddin, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, J.P.
(1914),
4. Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Solicitor
(1916),
5. Diwan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri, M.A.,
LL.B., Advocate (1916),
6. R. P. Masani, Esq., M.A. (1916),
7. Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, 3rd Baronet (1928).

*The Executive Committee**President*

M. P. Khareghat, Esq., I.C.S. (Retired).

Vice-Presidents

*Sorabji Edalji Warden, Esq., J.P.,

*Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt.,
C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.D.

Honorary Treasurer

Kaikhasru H. Cama, Esq.

Ex-officio Members

Kazi Kabiruddin, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, J.P.,

Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Solicitor,

Diwan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B.,
Advocate,

R. P. Masani, Esq., M.A.,

Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Bart.

* Now deceased.

Members

Miss Serene M. Cursetji,
Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.,
R. F. Gorvala, Esq., M.A.,
B. N. Dhabhar, Esq., M.A.,
P. K. Motiwala, Esq., M.A., LL.B.,
Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji, B.A.,
Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar, M.A.,
Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala, B.A., Ph.D., Barrister-
at-Law,
Dr. Jal Feerose Bulsara, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.,
Dr. Jal C. Pavry, M.A., Ph.D.

Honorary Secretary

B. T. Anklesaria, Esq., M.A.

Finance Sub-Committee

M. P. Khareghat, Esq., Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi,* Kaikhasru H. Cama, Esq., and B. T. Anklesaria, Esq.

Building Sub-Committee

M. P. Khareghat, Esq., Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi,* R. P. Masani, Esq., Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., Diwan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri, Kaikhasru H. Cama, Esq., and B. T. Anklesaria, Esq.

Research Work Sub-Committee

R. P. Masani, Esq., P. K. Motiwala, Esq., Ervad B. N. Dhabhar, Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji, Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala, Dr. Jal F. Bulsara, and B. T. Anklesaria, Esq.

* Now deceased.

Meetings

There were in all four, one special and three ordinary, meetings of the Executive Committee during the year.

Record of Service

At the special meeting of the Executive Committee held on the 12th April, 1933, the following resolutions were passed recording the services of Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Sorabji Edalji Warden, Esq., and Gushtasp K. Nariman, Esq. :—

Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi

“This meeting of the Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute expresses its deep sense of grief at the passing away of Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.D., on Tuesday, the 28th March, 1933. Dr. Sir Jivanji was one of the founders of this Institute and he worked for its welfare from its inception till the end of his life with very great zeal and energy. The Executive Committee place on record their sense of the irreparable loss sustained by the Institute in his passing away, and their sincere appreciation of the admirable services rendered by him to its cause in various capacities as a Trustee from 1914 to 1933, as its President from December 1919 to May 1921 and as its Honorary Secretary from May 1921 to February 1931, an office with very onerous duties, in which he worked strenuously for the uplift of the Institute for a continuous period of nearly ten years and which he resigned only on account of failing health.

“The Committee highly appreciate his great services as the Editor of the Institute's Journal from 1922 till his passing away, during which period he published 24 numbers of the Journal and sent to the press the twenty-fifth number

which will appear shortly. During his editorship, he brought out nine other publications of the Institute and contributed to the Journal nineteen papers on various subjects.

“ Dr. Sir Jivanji was appointed Government fellowship lecturer for the year 1926 when he delivered a series of five lectures on ‘ The influence of Iran on other countries.’ He had also delivered seven lectures at the K. R. Cama anniversary gatherings.

“ Dr. Sir Jivanji had by his zeal and perseverance greatly enlarged the scope of the activities of the Institute and enhanced its prestige by his literary pursuits and admirable scholarship and thereby established his claim as the life and soul of the Institute.

“ The Institute will cherish and preserve with care the valuable manuscripts, books and relics Dr. Sir Jivanji has presented to the Institute along with his printed works which are to be gathered in a case to preserve his memory.

“ The Executive Committee feel proud of having had in their midst such an indefatigable scholar of world-wide reputation, honest principles, straightforward character and unceasing fervour.

“ The Committee convey their sympathies to Lady Modi and the sons and daughters of the deceased in their sad bereavement and pray to the Almighty for the eternal bliss and spiritual progress of the soul of their revered colleague.

“ A copy of the above resolution be forwarded to the family of the deceased.”

Sorabji Edalji Warden, Esq.

“ This meeting of the Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute expresses its deep sense of grief at the passing away of Mr. Sorabji E. Warden on Tuesday, the 4th April, 1933. Mr. Warden, a well-known merchant and man of business, who was connected with this

Institute since its inception, took deep interest in its working as one of the Trustees and Vice-presidents.

"The Executive Committee place on record their sense of the loss sustained by the Institute owing to his passing away and their appreciation of the services rendered by him to it.

"A copy of the above resolution be forwarded to the family of the deceased."

Gushtasp K. Nariman, Esq.

"The Executive Committee express their grief at the passing away of Mr. G. K. Nariman, a well-known linguist and scholar, on Tuesday, the 4th April, 1933, and place on record their appreciation of the services the deceased had rendered to the Institute as a member of the Executive Committee, and as one of the Joint Honorary Secretaries from 1919 to 1925.

"A copy of the above resolution be forwarded to the family of the deceased."

K. R. Cama's Death Anniversary

The twenty-fourth anniversary of the death of the late Mr. K. R. Cama was celebrated on Friday, the 18th August, 1933, in the hall of the Institute.

Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., gave a discourse on "K. R. Cama and his Disciples."

Lectures

1. Mr. Rustam N. D. Banaji: "Jamshed in the Avesta, reflected and revealed in a new light. The Vara of Jamshid identified with the Great Pyramid. Gâthâ and Vandidâd passages expounded with new translation," on Friday, the 7th April, 1933, when Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., presided.

2. The hundred-and-second birth anniversary of the late Mr. K. R. Cama was celebrated in co-operation with the Râhnumây Mâzdayasnân Sabhâ, the Gâthâ Society and the Rathaestâr Mandal, on Monday, the 13th November, 1933, when Mr. Dinshah Jijibhai Irani, B.A., LL.B., Solicitor, presided.

Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., and Ervad Framroze A. Bode, B.A., gave discourses in Gujarati on "Mr. K. R. Cama," and "Mr. K. R. Cama as a Saoshyant," respectively.

3-5. Dr. Jamshed Manekji Unvala, Ph.D., 'Ancien Élève de l'École de Louvre, Paris, delivered the following three lectures:

"Excavations at Nehâvand," on Friday, the 24th November, 1933, when Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., presided.

"Recent Excavations at Susa," on Wednesday, the 29th November, 1933, when Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., presided.

"Impressions of Sassanian seals and other kindred documents of the Sassanian epoch discovered at Susa," on Thursday, the 30th November, 1933, when Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., presided.

Translations

1. Miss Dhan Behramgore Anklesaria, M.A., has been requested to prepare an English translation of Count A. Gobineau's French work, "Les religions et les philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale," on an honorarium of Rs. 600/-.

2. Dr. Olaf Hansen has been requested to prepare an English translation of Prof. Nöldeke's German work, "Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden aus der Arabischen Chronik des Tabari," on an honorarium of Rs. 600/-.

3. Dr. A. Siddiqi, Ph.D., has consented to translate into English Prof. Bartholomae's "Zum Sasanidischen Recht, Part V," on an honorarium of Rs. 260/-.

History of the Peshdâdiyan and Kayânian Kings

The late Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi had undertaken to write a "History of the Peshdâdiyan and Kayânian Kings of Persia, based on all sources, especially Avesta, Pahlavi and Persian," but he could not prepare it owing to his prolonged weak health. The matter has been dropped, owing to his death.

Translation of Ervad Sheriarji Bharucha's "Collected Sanskrit Writings, Part I"

The Executive Committee has postponed the question of translation of Ervad Sheriarji Bharucha's "Collected Sanskrit Writings, Part I."

Translation of certain chapters of Dr. Geiger's "Ostiranische Kultur"

The work of translating chapters on Geography and Ethnography in Dr. Geiger's "Ostiranische Kultur" was entrusted to Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala in 1923. At the request of the Executive Committee, Dr. Taraporevala, who was handicapped for books of reference, has kindly agreed to complete the work with the help of a German-knowing scholar-friend of his, as early as possible.

Government Research Lectureship

Mr. Sohrab Jamshedji Bulsara, M.A., has been appointed Government Research Fellowship Lecturer of the Institute for 1934, the subject he has selected being "How far do the teachings of the later Avesta interpret Zarathustra's holy message?"

Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi had submitted the MS. of his Government fellowship lectures, delivered in 1926-1927,

just a week before his death. These important lectures will be published early.

Editor of the Institute's Journal

Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi, who was the editor of the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute ever since it was started in 1922, retired on account of failing health on the 21st January, 1933. Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., has been appointed editor in his stead.

The Executive Committee records its great appreciation of Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi's indefatigable zeal and application as editor of the Journal. Under his editorship Journal Nos. 1 to 24 were published during his lifetime; Journal No. 25 has been published after his death.

Publications

Two numbers of the Journal of the Institute, Nos. 24 and 25, and the Institute Publication No. 10, were published during the year.

Gabri or Dari Dialect

Mr. W. Ivanow submitted his treatise on "Gabri or Dari Dialect." An honorarium of Rs. 1,500/- has been paid for this work.

Seventh Indian Oriental Conference

Mr. R. P. Masani, M.A., and Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala, Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, were appointed delegates to represent the Institute at the Seventh Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, held at Baroda, on the 27th, 28th and 29th December, 1933.

The Executive Committee is glad to learn that Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala was appointed President of the Avesta-Iranian Section of the Conference, and that Mr. B. T. Anklesaria read a paper in the Sanskrit-Vedic Section.

Publications

The Executive Committee regrets that owing to scarcity of funds it cannot undertake the publication of (1) the Transliteration and Translation of the Pahlavi Vendidâd, prepared by Mr. Behramgore Tahmuras Anklesaria, M.A., (2) the late Mr. K. R. Cama's Collected Works which are out of print, and (3) "the Life-Sketch of the late Mr. K. R. Cama" written by the late Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.

The Executive Committee hopes that the Trustees of Charities and philanthropic ladies and gentlemen will kindly come forward to provide funds for these publications. A great desideratum of the student world will be provided for by the publication of the Transliteration and Translation of the Pahlavi Vandidâd and the Executive Committee is anxious to see this work published at an early date.

Anquetil du Perron's Biography

The Executive Committee has sanctioned Rs. 50/- to the Fund raised by the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayet Funds and Properties for the publication of Anquetil du Perron's Biography by M. Raymond Schwab, some articles of Anquetil on the Parsis and two articles of the late Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.

Co-operation of the Institute sought by the Anthropological Society of Bombay

The Anthropological Society of Bombay has invited the co-operation of members of the Institute, interested in anthropological studies to shift and collect materials lying scattered in the journals of various learned societies with a view to prepare complete monographs on important subjects. The Executive Committee has requested its members to co-operate with the Anthropological Society in its laudable efforts.

Antiquities from Susa

The antiquities from Susa presented to the Parsi

Community by Mon. Macquenem, the head of the French Archaeological Mission at Susa, through Dr. J. M. Unvala, Ph.D., and kept at the Institute, were cleaned for preservation at a cost of Rs. 75/-.

Presentation of MSS. and Books

1. Mrs. Ratanbai C. Badshah has presented 6 MSS. and 59 books from the library of her father the late Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab P. Sanjana, B.A., Ph.D.

2. Mr. Minoo Hormusji Matbar has presented 200 books from the library of his late father Mr. Hormusji Matbar. Out of these, 100 books have been handed over to the M. F. Cama Athornan Institute.

3. The Trustees of the late Sir Dorab J. Tata have presented 225 books out of Sir Dorab's collection.

4. The late Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., had presented 10 Iranian MSS. and 63 printed oriental books before his death, and Lady Shirinbai has presented 4 MSS. and 536 books and a number of journals after his death.

5. Mobad Dhanjisha Nahladaru of Machhlipeth, Surat, has presented a rich collection of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS.

When the late Mr. K. R. Cama's Library was handed over to the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute in 1917 it contained 1899 MSS. and printed books.

The Institute is by the end of 1933 in charge of MSS. and books presented and purchased as per the following list:—

	MSS.	Books	Journals
K. R. Cama Oriental Institute	... 382	3,795	1,058
M. L. Hataria Collection (1930)...	542	625	...
Dastur Dr. Darab P. Sanjana (1932)...	6	59	...
Mr. Hormusji Matbar Collection (1932)...	...	100	...
Dr. Sir J. J. Modi Collection (1933)...	14	599	217
Sir Dorab J. Tata Collection (1933)...	...	225	...
Total ...	944	5,403	1,275

The list of MSS. and books belonging to the Mullan Firuz Kitabkhana and the various collections attached to it:—

	MSS.	Books	Journals
<i>Dastur Mullan Firuz</i> ...	...	1,482	1,298
Persian MSS. ...	744	...	...
Avesta Pahlavi MSS. ...	93	...	...
Mr. J. N. Tata Collection ...	...	477	...
Mr. Behram Merwan Irani Collection ..	...	140	...
„ Cowasji B. Patel Collection ...	...	86	...
Khan Bahadur Bahmanji B. Patel Collection ...	...	467	...
Dr. Burzoji Behramji Pestonji Collection ...	...	247	...
Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha Collection ...	...	343	...
Sir J. J. Translation Fund ...	...	461	...
Newspaper files and packets ...	...	272	...
Mr. Sorabji Framji Vakil's Collection.*	55	3	...
Ardeshar Dosabhai Munshi Collection...	...	33	...

Mr. K. R. Cama's Paper-Arrow

Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi, along with his letter dated the 16th March, 1933, has sent as an interesting memento a paper-arrow, which was darted at him by the late Mr. K. R. Cama with his name written on it, on the Shehenshahi New Year day, 1278 A.Y. (13th September, 1908 A.C.) through the silver-bow which Dr. Sir Jivanji had presented to him on the previous Navroz.

Sir Jivanji Modi's Medals and Robes

Lady Shirinbai Jivanji Modi has sent over to the Institute eleven medals and three academical robes of the late Dr. Sir Jivanji to be kept along with Dr. Sir Jivanji's publications in the cabinet proposed to be placed in his honour in the Institute.

* Presented by Mr. Manchershah Sohrabji Vakharia, Trustee of the Sheth Hormasji Behramji Vakharia Dar-e Meher.

Institute Building

At the instance of Miss Serenebai Maneckji Cursetji, the Executive Committee has again taken up the question of erecting a building for the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute and to accept donations for the same. Mr. Rustam K. R. Cama, Mr. Rustam P. Masani and Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, Honorary Secretary, have been requested to find out a suitable building site and to frame a scheme for the provision of such a building.

Insurance

The manuscripts, books, furniture and dead-stock of the Cama Oriental Institute and of the Manekji Limji Hataria Library have been insured for Rs. 50,000.

The manuscripts, books and furniture of the Mullan Firuz Kitabkhana are separately insured for Rs. 20,000 by the Committee of the Kitabkhana.

General Fund

The General Fund of the Institute showed a balance of Rs. 2,00,726-6-5 on the 31st December, 1932. At the end of 1933 the balance was Rs. 2,01,164-13-3.

The Executive Committee desires to record its thanks to Messrs. Navroz A. Davar & Co., Incorporated Accountants, for having worked as Honorary Auditors of the Institute for the last ten years.

BOOKS PURCHASED

English

"Comparative Tables of Muhammadan and Christian Dates," by Lt. Col. Sir Wolseley Haig, London, 1932.

"Maulana Shibli and Umar Khayyam" by Rustom, Pestonji Bhajiwalla, Surat, 1932.

"Mystic Tendencies in Islam," by M. M. Zuhuruddin Ahmad, Bombay, 1933.

"Oahaspe. A Kosmon Bible in the Words of Jehovah and his Angel Embassadors," by the Kosmon Press, London, 1926.

"Caravan Journeys and Wanderings in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkistan and Beloochistan", by J. P. Ferrier, London, 1896.

"Cyrus the Second," by J. W. Bosanquet, London, 1872.

"Catalogue of the Collection of Oriental Coins belonging to Col. C. Seton Guthrie: Fasciculus I: Coins of the Amawi Khalifehs," by Stanley Lane Poole, Hertford, 1874.

"A Trilingual Inscription of Artaxerxes Mnemon," by B. T. A. Evetts.

"On Two Duplicates of the Babylonian Chronicle," by C. Bezold, London, 1889.

"Remarks on the Zend Language and the Zend Avesta," by Emanuel Rask, London, 1834.

"Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde; accompanied by a Geographical and Historical Account of those Countries with a map," by Lt. Henry Pottinger, London, 1816.

"Travels and Adventures in the Persian Provinces on the Southern Banks of the Caspian Sea," by James B. Fraser, London, 1826.

"Bombay and the Sidis," by D. R. Banaji, Bombay, 1932.

"Higher Persian Grammar," by Lt. Col. D. C. Phillott, Calcutta, 1919.

"The Pushto Manual," by Major H. G. Raverty, London, 1917.

German

"Die Soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums I Teil (Die Buddhistischen Texte) II Teil (Die

Nicht Buddhistischen Texte)" by Hans Reichelt, Heidelberg, 1928 and 1931.

"Iranische Denkmaler Lieferung 1, 2 and 3/4 A Tafeln I-XVIII. XIX-XXX and B Tafeln I-XXVII und 1 Tabelle" by Ernst Herzfeld, Berlin, 1932 and 1933.

"Die Grabchrift des Darius zu Nakschi Rustam," by Dr. Ferdinand Hitzig, Zurich, 1847.

"Die Babylonisch-assyrischen Keilinschriften und ihre Bedeutung für das Alte Testament," by Dr. C. Bezold, Tübingen und Leipzig, 1904.

"Korosi Csoma-Archivum A Korosi Csoma-Tarsasag Folyoirata," by Nemeth Gyula, Budapest.

"Klio Beiträge zur alten Geschichte In Verbindung mit Fachgenossen des In- und Auslandes," by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt and E. Kornemann, Leipzig, 1908.

"Das Rufen des Zarathushtra (Die Gathas der Avesta)," by Paul Eberhardt: Jena 1913.

"Historische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur," by Carl Bezold: Heidelberg, 1915.

"Die Religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Yasna Haptan̄hati," by O. G. von Wesendek, Bonn und Köln, 1931.

"Yašt 14, 16, 17 Text Übersetzung Mithra und Erexsa," Johannes Hertel, Leipzig, 1931.

"Neutestamentliche Bruchstücke in Soghdischer Sprache," Müller.

French

"Mahā Karmavibhanga et Karmavibhangopadesa," by Sylvain Levy, Paris, 1932.

"Maçoudi: Le Livre de L'Avertissement et de la Revision," Translation by B. Carra de Vaux, Paris, 1897.

"Le Livre de L'Indication et de L'Admonition," by A. T. Silvestre de Sacy.

"Collection des Historiens Anciens et Modernes de L'Arménie, Tome Premier et Deuxieme", by Victor Langlois, Paris (Tome Premier 1881, Tome Deuxieme 1869).

"Voyage en Arménie et en Perse, fait dans les années 1805 et 1806," by P. Amedee Jaubert, Paris, 1821.

"Épisodes de L'Histoire du Kurdistan," by Mon. Addai Scher.

"Le Peuple et L'Empire des Mèdes jusqu'à la fin du Règne de Cyaxare," by A. Delattre, S. J., Bruxelles, 1883.

"Memoire sur Les Guerres Mediques," by Paul Devaux.

"Inscriptions Pehlviés de Kirmanschah," by Louis Dubaux, Paris, 1843.

"L'Alphabet de la Langue Bactrienne, Actes de la Société Philologique," by E. J. Dillon, Paris, 1879.

"Memoire sur Deux Bas-Reliefs Mithriaques qui ont été Decouverts en Transylvanie," by Felix Lajard.

Sanskrit

"R̥gveda-Samhitā with the Commentary of Sāyaṇāchārya," Vol. I, Mandal I. (Vedic Research Institute Publication). Edited by V. K. Rajwade, M. M. Abhyankar, N. S. Sontakke and Pandit T. S. Varadarajasarma, Poona, 1933.

Arabic - French

Maçoudi: "Les Prairies d'Or." Text and Translation, Vols. I-IX, by C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1861 - 1877.

English - Persian

"New English-Persian Dictionary," Vols. I and II, by S. Haim, Tehran, 1930.

Pahlavi

"Codices Avestici et Pahlavici, Vol. II. The Pahlavi Codex K₂₆ containing Ardhāgh Virāj Nāmāgh and

Mādhīhāne Yavisht e Fryān,” with an Introduction by Arthur Christensen, by the University Library of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, 1932.

Ethiopian

“Baralam and Yewasef, Vol. I (Ethiopic Text), Vol. II (English Translation),” by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, London, 1923.

Latin

“De Verbis Denominativis Linguae Bactricae,” by Eugenius Wilhelm, Isenaci.

“De Infinitivi Lingvarum Sanscritae Bactricae Persicae, Graecae, Oscanae, Umbricae, Latinae, Goticae,” by Eugenius Wilhelm, Isenaci, 1873.

Dutch

“Over Het Woord Zarathustra en den Mythischen Persoon Van Dien Naam,” by J. H. C. Kern, Amsterdam, 1867.

Italian

“Il Capitolo Georgico Dell’Avesta. Vendidad, III,” by F. A. Cannizzaro, Messina, 1913.

Pukkhito

“A Dictionary of the Pukkhito or Pukshito Language,” by H. W. Bellews, London, 1867.

Gujarati

“અમર ઇરાન યાને પુરાતન પાસી તવારિખના થોડા ઝળકતા સદ્દાઓ,” બનાવનાર મિતોચેહેર એરચશાહ દાદરાવાળા, મુંબઈ, ૧૯૩૩.

BOOKS PRESENTED

“Report on the Working of the Imperial Library, Calcutta,” for the year 1931-32; Calcutta, 1932.¹

1. By the Publisher.

"Psychology of the Religious Life, as illustrated by Zoroastrian Writings," by Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Poona, 1932.²

"Proceedings of the Nineteenth Indian Science Congress, Bangalore, 1932," by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1932.¹

"A Report to the Sir Ratan Tata Trustees on Problems affecting the Parsee Community," by S. F. Markham, Bombay, 1933.³

"Iranian Studies" (Reprint from the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. VI, Part IV, 1932), by H. W. Bailey.⁴

"Origin of Indo-Iranian Myth and Religion," by Viceaji Dinshaw, Secunderabad, 1932.⁴

"Oriental Conference Papers," by Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Bombay, 1932.⁵

"The Parsee Heritage," by Maneck B. Pithawalla, Karachi, 1932.⁵

"Vijarishn i Chatrang, or the Explanation of Chatrang and other Texts," by J. C. Tarapore, Bombay, 1932.⁵

"Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the year 1931," by the Kern Institute, Leyden, Leyden,⁶ 1933.

"Zoroastrian Civilization from the Earliest Times to the Downfall of the last Zoroastrian Empire 651 A.D.," by Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla, New York, 1922.⁷

"Zoroastrian Theology from the Earliest Times to the

2. By the Author.

3. By the Trustees of the Sir Ratan Tata Charities.

4. By the late Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.

5. By the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayet Funds and Properties.

6. Presented by the Kern Institute, Leyden.

7. Presented by the Trustees of Sir Dorab J. Tata.

Present Day," by Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla, New York, 1914.⁷

"The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life from Death to the Individual Judgment," by Jal Dastur Cursetji Pavry, New York, 1926.⁷

"Iranian Studies," by Cursetji Erachji Pavri, Bombay, 1927.⁷

"Government Oriental Series," Class B, No. 1: "Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. I," by N. B. Utgikar and V. G. Paranjpe. Poona, 1933.⁸

"Catalogue of Books of the Bombay University Library." Lists of Additions Nos. 1-15. Bombay. 1920-1932.⁹

Persian

"Farhange Nizām, Vols. I and II," by Prof. Aga Syed Mahomed Ali, Dai, Hyderabad, 1348, 1351.²

German

"Arische Forschungen Yaghnōbi-Studien I. Die Sprachgeographische Gliederung des Yaghnōb-Tales," by Heinrich F. J. Junker, Leipzig, 1930.⁴

French

"La Stele de Chaulouf, Essai De Restitution du Texte Perse," by M. Joachim Menant, Paris, 1887.⁴

Sanskrit

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8. Presented by the Director of Public Instruction, Poona.

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10. Presented by the Department of Public Instruction, Bombay:

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Gujarati

“પારસી પ્રકાશ,” દફતર ૪ થું-ભાગ ૪ થો, રચનાર રૂ. બ. પેમાસ્તર, મુંબઈ, ૧૯૩૨.^૫

“ભગર સાથ અનભુમનની તવારીખ,” કર્તા એ. ફરેદુન ૨૦ કાંગા, મુંબઈ, ૧૯૩૨.^૫

“ઝોરાસ્ટ્રીયન કેલેન્ડર યાને પારસી પંચાંગ,” ય. ઝ. ૧૨૫૨; ૧૨૫૫-૫૮; ૧૨૬૧-૭૨; ૧૨૭૪, ૧૨૭૫, ૧૨૭૭-૮૧, ૧૨૮૩-૮૫; ૧૨૮૭: નંગ ૩૮: કર્તા-મનચેરજી હોશંગજી જાંગોશ.^૫

“દાદસ્તાને દીનીનો તજુમો યાને દસ્તુર માનુસ્ચેહરે ગોશ્નજમે આપેલાં ધાર્મિક ફરમાનો” કર્તા એરવદ તેહમુરસ દીનશાહ અંકલેસરીઆ તથા એરવદ શેહરીયારજી દાદાભાઈ ભરૂઆ, મુંબઈ, ૧૯૨૬.^૬

“યરતે વદરદેમાંન, ગુજર પામેલાંઓની આરાધના,” કર્તા જલ દસ્તુર ખુરશેદજી પાવરી, મુંબઈ, ૧૯૨૭.^૭

“મહાત્મા મહિમા (ત્રણ અંકી નાટક),” કર્તા મેહરજીભાઈ માણેકજી રતુરા, અમદાવાદ, ૧૯૨૫.^૭

“ગુલઝારે પારસ,” કર્તા જેહાંગીર બરજેરજી સંજાણા, બી. એ. મુંબઈ, ૧૯૨૭.^૭

“મહાન જરથોસ્તી ધર્મ, ભાગ બીજો,” કર્તા જેહાંગીર બરજેરજી સંજાણા, અમદાવાદ, ૧૯૨૮.^૭

“પહલવી ધરાનમાં મુસાફરી,” લખનાર મેહરજી બેહરામગોર અંકલેસરીઆ : મુંબઈ, ૧૯૩૨.^{૧૨}

“હખામન્યન શેહેનશાહાતનો સ્થાપનાર સાયેરસ ધી ઝેટ,” કર્તા ખાનસાહેબ ધનજીભાઈ ફરામજી દુઆશ, મુંબઈ, ૧૯૩૩.^{૧૨}

11. Presented by the Adyar Library.

12. Presented by Mr. Rustom Jamshed Irani.

JOURNALS PRESENTED

English

"Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal": New Series: Vol. XXVI, No. 4, 1930; Vol. XXVII, No. 1, 1931, No. 3 (1931), No. 4 (1931).¹³

"Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society," Vol. VII, Part 2 (October 1932), Part 3, (January, 1933); Vol. VIII, Part 1 (July, 1933).¹³

"The Asiatic Review," Vol. XXIX Nos. 97-98-99-100 (January, April, July, October) 1933.¹³

"British Mazdaznan Magazine," Vol. 9, Nos. 3-7 (November-December, 1932; January-March, 1933); Vol. 10 Nos. 1-3 (September to November, 1933).⁴

"Journal of the American Oriental Society," Vol. 52, No. 4 (December, 1932); Vol. 53, No. 1 (March, 1933), No. 2 (June 1933).⁴

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"Algal Flora of the Chilka Lake," by Kalipada Biswas; (Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol. XI, No. 5) Calcutta, 1932.⁴

"Bibliography of Indo-Moslem History excluding Provincial Monarchies," by Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 45) Calcutta, 1932.⁴

"Mediæval Temples of the Dakhan," by Henry Cousens; (Archæological Survey of India, Vol. XLVIII, Imperial Series) Calcutta, 1931.¹³

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"The Indian Historical Quarterly," Vol. VIII. No. 4, December, 1932.¹³

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"Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy for the year ending 31st March 1930," Madras, 1932.¹³

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"The Aryan Path," Vol. III, No. 12, December 1932, Vol. IV, Nos. 1,2 and 3, January, February and March, 1933.

"Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara," Vol. I, No. 5, December 1932; Vol. I, Nos. 6, 7, 9 and 10, (January, February, April, and May, 1933).¹³

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"India and the World:" A Monthly Organ of Internationalism and Cultural Federation by Kalidas Nag, Vol. II, Nos. 1-11 (January-November 1933).¹³

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"Prince of Wales Museum of Western India:" Report for the year 1932-33; Bombay, 1933.¹³

"Studies in Philology," Vol. XXX, No. 4, (October, 1933) North Carolina, 1933.¹³

German

"Gottingische Gelehrte Anzeigen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften" 194, Jahrgang Nos. 10-12 (October-December, 1932); 195 Jahrgang Nos. 1-5 (January-May, 1933); 6 (June); 7-8 (July-August, 1933).¹³

"Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft," Band 9, Heft I, (1932); Band 11, Heft 3-4 (1933); Band 12, Heft 1/2 (1933).¹³

"Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen," Heft I (1933).

French

"Journal Asiatique," Recueil Trimestriel de Memoires et de Notices, Tome CCXX (April-June 1932); Tome CCXXI (July-September 1932); Tome CCXXI (October-December 1932); Tome CCXXII (January-March 1933).¹³

"Le Monde Oriental," Vol. XXIV, Fasc. 1-2.¹³

Italian

"Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni:" Anno VIII, Fascicolo 3, 4 (1932); Anno IX, Fasc. 1-2 (1933).¹³

Sanskrit, Marathi, etc.

"Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala," Vol. XIII, No. 3 (December 1932); Vol. XIII, No. 4 (March 1933).¹³

Telugu

"Journal of the Telugu Academy," six numbers.¹³

Gujerati

"મુખ્યમંત્રી જરથોસ્તી જશન કમિટીનો સીલવર જ્યુબીલી અંક," ૧૯૩૨.¹³

"રાહે જરથુશ્ત્ર" વોલ્યુમ ૧૫, નંબર ૧, ૨, ૩ (માર્ચ, જુન, સપ્ટેમ્બર, ૧૯૩૩).¹³

THE K. R. CAMA

Balance Sheet as on

LIABILITIES				Rs.	a.	p.
General Fund	...	...	...	2,01,164	13	3
Fellowship Fund	...	...	...	32,567	8	0
Dr. E. J. Khory Fund	...	...	...	14,529	8	0
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund	...	...	...	6,116	15	8
Bai Aima K. R. Cama Fund	...	...	...	4,310	0	6
Surat Parsi History Fund	...	...	...	3,657	6	0
K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund	...	...	...	1,802	3	9
T. R. N. Cama Donation Fund	...	...	...	7,299	2	3
Rivayet Publication Fund	...	...	...	213	0	9
Pahlavi Vendidad Translation Fund	...	...	...	1,142	3	4
Maneckji Limji Hateria Library Fund	...	...	...	4,311	2	0
Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi Appreciation Fund	...	...	...	971	3	0
Total				2,78,085	2	6

KAIKHASRU HORMUSJEE CAMA,
Honorary Treasurer..

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

31st December 1933

ASSETS				Rs.	a.	p.
Cash with Imperial Bank of India (Rs. 3,553-7-6):—						
Bai Aima K. R. Cama Fund Account	...	...		59	4	6
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund Account	...	...		93	1	8
All other Accounts	...	...	...	3,401	1	4
Securities —(With Imperial Bank of India as per Safe Custody Receipt, Rs. 2,72,566-3-0):—						
3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes of Rs. 78,700	...	...	...	62,829	11	0
5 per cent 1945-55 Government Promissory Notes of Face Value Rs. 500	...	...	...	500	0	0
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury Bonds of Face Value Rs. 51,500	...	...	...	51,535	4	0
4 per cent 1960-70 Loans of Face Value Rs. 39,200	...	...	...	39,112	8	0
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds of Face Value Rs. 500	...	...	...	500	0	0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds of Face Value Rs. 1,17,800	...	...	...	1,18,088	12	0
Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	...	1,965	8	0
Total				2,78,085	2	6

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR & Co.,
 Incorporated Accountants (London),
 Honorary Auditors.

Bombay, 10th April 1934.

THE K. R. CAMA

Account

Account of the General Fund for the

CREDIT				Rs.	a.	p.
BALANCE ON 1ST JANUARY 1933 (Rs. 2,00,726-6-5):—						
Cash with Bank ...	...	...	...	2,180	2	5
Securities ...	...	...	...	1,96,477	4	0
FURNITURE AND FIXTURES ...	...	...	...	2,069	0	0
ADMINISTRATION CHARGES (Rs. 818-14-0):—						
The Mulla Firoz Kitabkhana ...	...	...	...	660	0	0
The Bai Aimae K. R. Cama Fund ...	...	...	...	13	13	0
The Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund ...	...	...	...	23	0	0
The K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund ...	...	...	...	6	13	0
The Fellowship Fund ...	...	...	...	115	4	0
OTHER CREDITS (Rs. 12,934-8-0):—						
Annual Membership Subscriptions ...	...	...	...	660	0	0
Sale of Journals and Publications ...	...	...	...	87	3	0
Fees for the use of the Institute Hall ...	...	...	...	97	0	0
Income transferred from Dr. E. J. Khory Account ...	...	...	...	936	0	0
Interest on Investments ...	...	...	...	8,767	0	0
4 per cent 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 2,200 received on conversion of 6 per cent 1933-36 Bonds of Face Value Rs. 2,200 ...	...	...	...	2,200	0	0
Bonus realized on conversion of 6 per cent 1933-36 Bonds of Face Value Rs. 2,200 into 4 per cent 1960-70 Loan at 8½ per cent ...	...	...	...	187	0	0
Total Rs.				2,14,479	7	5

KAIKHASRU HORMUSJEE CAMA,

Honorary Treasurer.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

No. 1

year ended 31st December 1933

DEBIT			Rs. a. p.		
CASH DEBITS (Rs. 11,011-2-2):—					
Salaries and Wages	...	...	4,440	0	0
Rent	...	...	3,300	0	0
General Charges	...	...	413	6	0
Books and Periodicals	...	...	573	10	10
Stationery and Printing	...	...	165	11	0
Postage and Stamps	...	...	98	2	6
Insurance	...	...	56	4	0
Publication Charges	...	...	1,963	15	10
OTHER DEBITS (Rs. 2,303-8-0):—					
6 per cent 1933-36 Bonds of Face Value	Rs. 2,200				
converted into 4 per cent 1960-70 Loan of					
Face Value Rs. 2,200	...	...	2,200	0	0
Depreciation of Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	103	8	0
BALANCE ON 31ST DECEMBER 1933 (Rs. 2,01,164-13-3):—					
3½ per cent Government Promissory					
Notes of Face Value	Rs. 64,900		50,669	12	0
5 per cent 1945-55 Government Pro-					
missory Notes of Face Value	" 500		500	0	0
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury Bonds					
of Face Value	" 26,800		26,818	12	0
4 per cent 1960-70 Loans of Face					
Value	" 2,200		2,200	0	0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds					
of Face Value	" 1,15,500		1,15,788	12	0
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds					
of Face Value	" 500		500	0	0
Cash with Bank	...	...	2,722	1	3
FURNITURE AND FIXTURES	...	...	1,965	8	0
Total Rs.			2,14,479	7	5

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR & Co.,
 Incorporated Accountants (London),
 Honorary Auditors.

Bombay, 10th April 1934.

Dr.

Account
FELLOWSHIP

	Rs. a p.
Printing Charges of Journal	381 0 0
Mr. W. Ivanow for Treatise on Dari	600 0 0
Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi for Fellowship Lectures in 1926	1,200 0 0
6 per cent 1933-36 Bonds of Face value Rs. 30,000 paid off	30,000 0 0
Administration Charges	115 4 0
Purchase of 4 per cent 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 2,600 at Rs. 98-12 per cent with interest upto date of purchase	2,598 7 10
Balance on 31-12-33:—	
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of F. V. Rs. 32,600...	32,567 8 0
	67,462 3 10

Dr.

Account
DR. E. J. KHORY

	Rs. a. p.
Interest amount transferred to General Fund	936 0 0
Balance on 31st Dec. 33:—	
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of Face Value Rs. 14,400 ... 14,400 0 0	
Cash 129 8 0	14,529 8 0
	15,465 8 0

Dr.

Account
SAROSH K. R. CAMA

	Rs. a. p.
Stamp on Balance Certificate... ..	0 1 0
Transfer Fees on Securities	7 0 0
Administration charges	23 0 0
Purchase of 4 per cent 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 500 at Rs. 98-12 per cent with interest upto date of purchase	499 14 0
Balance on 31st Dec. 1933:—	
4 p.c. B. P. T. Bonds of F. V. Rs. 1,000 ... 1,000 0 0	
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes of F. V. Rs. 200 ... 127 8 0	
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of F. V. Rs. 4,400... 4,402 10 0	
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of F. V. Rs. 500 493 12 0	

No. 2 FUND

Cr.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1933:—			
6 p.c. 1933-36 Bonds of Face Value	30,000	0	0
Rs. 30,000	1,646	8	0
Interest			
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value			
Rs. 30,000 received on conversion of			
6 p.c. 1933-36 Bonds of Face Value	30,000	0	0
Rs. 30,000			
Cash Bonus received on conversion of 6 p.c.			
1933-36 Bonds of Face Value Rs. 30,000			
at 8½ p.c.	2,550	0	0
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 2,600			
purchased at Rs. 98-12 0	2,567	8	0
Contributed from the General Fund under			
heading Publication Charges as the			
same had been previously paid from			
this account	698	3	10
	67,462	3	10

No. 3 FUND

Cr.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1933:—			
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury			
Bonds of Face Value			
Rs. 14,400	14,400	0	0
Cash	129	8	0
	14,529	8	0
Interest	936	0	0
	15,465	8	0

No. 4 FUND

Cr.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1933:—			
4 per cent B. P. T. Bonds			
(F. V. Rs. 1,000)	1,000	0	0
3½ per cent G. P. Notes			
(F. V. Rs. 200)	127	8	0
6½ per cent 1935 Treasury			
Bonds of F.V. Rs. 4,400... .. .	4,402	10	0
Cash	294	4	8
	5,824	6	8
Interest	328	12	0
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 500			
purchased at Rs. 98-12 p.c.	493	12	0

Account

BAI AIMAE K. R. CAMA

Dr.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Stamp and Transfer Fees on Securities ...	5	1	0
Honorarium for translating the Pahlavi Text Sitâyinitârth-i-Sûr Afrîn ...	100	8	0
Administration charges ...	13	13	0
Purchase of 4 per cent 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 500 at Rs. 98-12 per cent including interest upto date of purchase ...	499	13	1
Balance on 31-12-33:—			
4 p.c. B.P.T. Bonds of F. V. Rs. 1,300 ...	1,300	0	0
6½ p. c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of F. V. Rs. 1,800 ...	1,804	2	0
3½ p.c. (G. P. Notes of F. V. Rs. 900 ...	652	14	0
4 p. c. 1960-70 Loan of F. V. Rs. 500 ...	493	12	0
Cash ...	59	4	6
	4,310	0	6
	4,929	3	7

Account

SURAT PARSI HISTORY

Dr.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Purchase of 4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 300 at 98-12 p.c. including interest upto date of purchase ...	299	13	6
Balance on 31st Dec. 1933:—			
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes of F. V. Rs. 3,700 ...	2,379	9	0
6½ p. c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of F. V. Rs. 900 ...	903	6	0
4 p. c. 1960-70 Loan of F. V. Rs. 300 ...	296	4	0
Cash ...	78	3	0
	3,657	6	0
	3,957	3	6

No. 5
FUND

Cr.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1933:—			
4 p.c. B.P.T. Bonds of F. V. Rs. 1,300	1,300	0	0
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of F.V. Rs. 1,800	1,804	2	0
3½ p.c. G.P. Notes of Face Value Rs. 900	652	14	0
Cash	481	3	7
	4,238	3	7
Interest	197	4	0
4 p. c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 500 purchased at 98-12 p. c.	493	12	0
	4,929	3	7

No. 6
FUND

Cr.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1933:—			
3½ p. c. G. P. Notes of F.V. Rs. 3,700	2,379	9	0
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of F.V. Rs. 900	903	6	0
Cash	190	8	6
	3,473	7	6
Interest	187	8	0
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 300 purchased at 98-12 p. c.	296	4	0
	3,957	3	6

Account**K. R. CAMA ANNIVERSARY***Dr.*

		Rs.	a.	p.
Anniversary Celebration Expenses	...	44	3	3
Administration Charges	...	6	13	0
Purchase of 4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 300 at Rs. 98-12 p.c. including interest upto date of purchase	...	299	13	6
Balance on 31-12-33:—				
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of F.V. Rs. 1,500	1,500 0 0			
4 p. c. 1960-70 Loan of F. V. Rs. 300	298 4 0			
Cash	5 15 9			
		1,802	3	9
		2,153	1	6

Account**T. R. N. CAMA***Dr.*

		Rs.	a.	p.
Purchase of 4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 600 at Rs. 98-12 p.c. including interest upto date of purchase	...	599	10	9
Balance on 31st Dec. 1933:—				
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes of F.V. Rs. 5,000	5,000 0 0			
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury Bonds of F.V. Rs. 1,700	1,706 6 0			
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of F.V. Rs. 600	592 8 0			
Cash	0 4 3			
		7,299	2	3
		7,898	13	0

Account**RIVAYET PUBLICATION***Dr.*

		Rs.	a.	p.
Purchase of 4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 200 at Rs. 98-12 p.c. including interest upto date of purchase	...	199	14	3
Balance on 31st Dec. 1933:—				
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of F.V. Rs. 200	197 8 0			
Cash	15 8 9			
		213	0	9
		412	15	0

No. 7 FUND

Cr.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1933:—			
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury			
Bonds of F.V. Rs. 1,500 ...	1,500	0	0
Cash ...	259	5	6
	1,759	5	6
Interest ...	97	8	0
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 300 purchased at 98-12 p.c. ...	296	4	0
	2,153	1	6

No. 8 FUND

Cr.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1933:—			
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes of F. V. Rs. 5,000 ...	5,000	0	0
6½ p.c. 1935 Treasury			
Bonds of F. V. Rs. 1,700 ...	1,706	6	0
Cash ...	314	15	0
	7,021	5	0
Interest ...	235	0	0
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 600 purchased at 98-12 p.c. ...	592	8	0
	7,898	13	0

No. 9 FUND

Cr.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1933:—			
Cash ...	184	15	0
Sale of copies of Rivayet ...	30	8	0
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 200 purchased at 98-12 p.c. ...	197	8	0
	412	15	0

Account**PAHLAVI VENDIDAD PRIZE***Dr.*

	Rs.	a.	p.
Purchase of 4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of Face Value Rs. 1,100 at Rs. 98-12 p.c. including interest upto date of purchase ...	1,099	5	0
Balance on 31st Dec. 1933:—			
4 p.c. 1960-70 Loan of F.V.			
Rs. 1,100 ...	1,086	4	0
Cash ...	55	15	4
	1,142	3	4
	2,241	8	4

Account**MANECKJI LIMJI HATERIA***Dr.*

	Rs.	a.	p.
Fire Insurance Premium ...	37	8	0
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JOURNAL
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No. 28

THE GOVERNMENT FELLOWSHIP LECTURES
DELIVERED BY
PROFESSOR POUR-E DAVOUD

EDITED BY
BEHRAMGORE T. ANKLESARIA, M.A.

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FOREWORD

Taking the advantage of Aga Pour-e Davoud's presence in India at the Santiniketan where he stayed for a year, being appointed Professor of Iranian Art and Culture by the Government of Irân, the President, Trustees and Governing Body of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute appointed him the Government Research Fellow for the year 1935. As Professor Pour-e Davoud had to leave India in April, 1934, he delivered the following six lectures before his departure:

1. "Airyana Vaêja [Irân Vêj] ", on 2-3-1934,
2. "Turan ", on 7-3-1934,
3. "The Age of Zarath ustra", on 9-3-1934,
4. "Raghâ ", on 14-3-1934,
5. "References to Buddhism in Iranian Literature and History", on 16-3-1934,
6. "A Brief Review of Persian History", on 20-3-1934.

It is to be regretted that the publication of these lectures had to be put off. Those who are anxious to learn the views of a modern Iranian on matters Iranian will appreciate Professor Pour-e Davoud's outspoken criticisms.

B. T. ANKLESARIA,

Editor

LECTURES OF PROFESSOR POUR-E DAVOUD

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

I consider it a great pleasure and honour to have the privilege of standing before you to-day as the Government of India lecturer. I heartily thank the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute for my appointment to this lectureship. I am really very glad that I have got this unique opportunity to stand on this famous platform before leaving India after the completion of my mission as a cultural deputy from the Imperial Government of Persia to this great country of India.

I know many great and famous scholars have held this lectureship before me and they have given the benefit of their researches and learning to the general public. In a series of six lectures I mean to discuss several subjects on which considerable difference of opinion exists amongst learned scholars. The subjects I have selected refer mainly to old Iranian history and culture. We all know that with the advancement of learning and new researches through archæological finds, it is essential for us to adjust our views with those of the present day, and in my lectures I have taken into account all the various view-points and have tried to discuss them scientifically.

My first lecture is about the location of Airyana Vaêja. As you all know, since Zoroastrianism began to be studied scientifically, the question as to the location of Airyana Vaêja has been discussed by various savants. As the name occurs in the Avesta, I will endeavour to ascertain

in the course of this lecture, whether it was the first settlement of the Iranians after their separation from the old Aryan stock.

In my second lecture I will speak of the Turanians, which too is a very interesting subject. I will try to prove that the Turanians rose from the original Aryan race, but they were Aryans of a lower and inferior civilisation. From very old times the Turanians are mistaken to have been descended from some foreign race, but after examining the various points of history and historical records, I have come to the conclusion that the Turanians mentioned in the old Avestan Scriptures were originally Aryans. The Ottoman Turks of to day taking their stand on this old mistake of considering Turanians as foreign, take pride in their descent from the Turanians.

My third lecture will treat of the age of Zarathustra. It is one of the problems often discussed widely by the scholars of Zoroastrianism. The question is to be judged not only from a religious view-point as it is connected with great historical and cultural aspects. As we know, the Gâthâs, Zarathustra's own writings, are the oldest existing documents of Iranian culture. We shall be able to indicate the beginning of our Iranian culture, when we will have fixed the age of Zarathustra, the singer of these holy songs. When the age of Zarathustra and the Gâthâs will be fixed, we shall have to look to some centuries back for the beginning and the course of development of this culture, because we see in the Gâthâs that the culture and civilisation of Irân had already reached a high degree and the people, addressed therein, were not at all rough and low; they were cultural to a high degree and had already reached a humanitarian and social plane of morality and ethics of a very high order.

Except the philological evidence as regards the holy Avestan Scriptures, which shows their antiquity, we

have no other document left, after the invasion and ruin by Alexander in the fourth century before Christ, the Arab invasion in the seventh century after Christ and the savage Mongol invasion in the beginning of the thirteenth century A.C. In order, therefore, to trace the age of Zarathustra from the existing traditions, we must take the help and guidance of the Greek and Roman classical writers. We find constant references to Zarathustra and his teachings in classical writers, owing to the might and prowess of the great Persian race on the one hand and the great popularity of Zoroastrian teachings on the other.

Whilst speaking about the Magi, these ancient historians referred generally to the age of Zarathustra. The Magi were originally the priests who offered prayers and performed ceremonies and were learned and wise amongst the people. The classical writers, however, definitely distinguish between the Zoroastrian Magi who were learned priests and the Chaldean Magi who were mere sorcerers. The word Magi is purely Iranian and has no equivalent even in Sanskrit.

In my fourth lecture, I will speak of Ragha (Rae), which at present is a huge ruin near Teheran standing on its own original site. It was, at one time, the largest and most glorious city and province of old. It is twice mentioned in the Avesta and many times in the Achæmenian inscriptions. In the Pahlavi commentaries, two Raghas are mentioned, owing to a mistake resulting from the division of provinces on political grounds. Anyhow, there was only one Ragha, the famous city.

In my fifth lecture, I will discuss the question as to whether Gotama Buddha is ever referred to in the Avesta. We find mention of the influence of Buddhism on Irân in the later Iranian literature; so also we notice reciprocally Mazdayasnian influence on Buddhism. I have tried to show

that there is no possibility of Gotama Buddha having been mentioned in the Avesta. One thing, however, is certain; it is this that the Avesta has nothing to do with Gotama Buddha.

In my sixth and last lecture, I will give a brief review of Persian history. No doubt, it is not possible to deal with all the events of about three thousand years in one lecture. My idea is to touch only the salient points and to show the ups and downs of the Persian Empire and the ebb and tide of its glory at the various periods of history. We will be able to see from the brief review how Persia has been capable of rising every time after a fall. I shall try also to show the ethical and moral aspects of Persian history and thus explain how Persian ethics and morals were influenced by the teachings of the Zoroastrian religion. Finally, from the rapid and remarkable changes and progress of the last ten years made in Persia, one is tempted to believe that Persia will again rise to the height of her ancient glory, and God willing, it will be a mighty power for good in Asia, in the near future.

I assure you that all these six lectures are based on the facts of religion, history and philology, and my object, in accepting this call of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute to deliver these lectures, will be fulfilled if I succeed in showing to you some phases of the Iranian culture in the light of modern researches.

AIRYANA VAEJA [IRÂN VEJ]

The Hindus and the Iranians, two of the Indo-European nations, have sprung from the same race. Both are called Aryans, and are very close and much alike. The existing written documents of the Aryans are the oldest of all the treasures of the Indo-European nations. To the Indo-Europeans, the Vedas of the Hindus and the Avesta of the Iranians are what the Tora is to the Semitic races; they are the oldest scriptural documents of the world. The Hindus and the Iranians, both the communities called themselves Aryans. The word 'Aryan' means noble. We learn from the Rig-Veda that the Hindus, who came from the Indus and the Punjab and fought with the old inhabitants of this land, called these aborigines 'Dāsa', *i.e.*, "savages" or "fiends," and it was in order to distinguish themselves from them that they called themselves 'Aryans.' According to Herodotus (7, 62), in the eighth century before Christ, the people of Media were generally called Aryans in Western Irân, where they formed their first kingdom. In his inscriptions of Naks-i Rostam in South Persia, the great Achæmenian king Darius, who flourished in the sixth century before Christ, said with great pride, "I am Darius, a great king, the king of kings, the king of many kingdoms and races, the king of this great and vast land, the son of Vistâsp (Hystaspes), the Hakhamanian, a Persian, the son of a Persian. I am an Aryan, of Aryan descent." After separation from the Hindus, the Iranians gave their name to the land which they conquered and that land was called Airyana, which is known as Irân to-day. Similarly, the Hindus, who came to the new country, first called it 'Āryavartta,' and later

'Bhâratavarsha' or 'Bhâratabhumi.' The very name 'Hindu,' generally adopted by the people of this land, is given to India by the Iranians. The name 'Sindhu', the country around the Indus, is given to the whole country, 's' being changed to 'h'. The Greeks, too, called this river as Indus. Only five centuries ago, 'Irân' was rightly pronounced 'Erân'. The country 'Airyana' and its people 'Airya', who are called Ârya in the Old Persian cuneiform and Sanskrit, have often been mentioned in the holy books of the Avesta. For example, گایمارت (Gaya-maretan), called 'Kayumars' in the New Persian language, is the first human being according to the Avesta, as Adam is in the Semitic religion. He is mentioned in the Fravardin Yast, 87, where it is said: "Gayomard was the first man who listened to the admonitions and teachings of Ahura Mazdâ. Ahura Madzâ created from him the original root and the race of the Iranian (*i.e.*, Aryan) countries." In our deep researches relating to the Hindus and the Iranians, we go so far as to find more and more, in the oldest documents of the Vedas and the Avesta, of the closer resemblance between the languages, religions, ways of thought, customs and manners of these two peoples. Consequently, there is not the least doubt that these two peoples are from the same race, they lived once in one and the same land, they had one language, one religion and one character. The language of the Avesta and the language of the Vedas have only dialectal differences. As there are the same dialectal differences between the Avesta and the Old Persian cuneiform, samples of which are preserved in the Achæmenian inscriptions, Strabo wrote in his geography in the first century before Christ that all the Aryan languages were one and the same, there being only the differences of dialects. In order to show the close rela-

tionship between the Avestan and Sanskrit languages, the late German scholar Bartholomae, who was a great authority in Avestan studies, has cited a sentence from the Yasna (10, 8) which is a very important part of the Avestan texts and translated it word for word into Sanskrit as follows:—

.𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀	.𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀	.𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀	.𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀
तरुणम्	पुत्रम्	यथा	यो
.𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀	.𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀	.𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀	.𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀
मर्त्यः	वन्देत	सोमम्	
.𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀	.𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀	.𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀	
तनुभ्यस्	आभ्यस्	प्र	
.𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀	.𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀	.𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀	
भेषजाय	विशते	सोमो	

The Avestan sentence quoted above would be translated thus: "Haoma enters, for healing, the limbs of the man who would make obeisance to Haoma as to a young son."

If we had not the vast Sanskrit literature that we possess, a part of the Mazdayasnān literature of the Zoroastrian religion would have undoubtedly remained ambiguous and unexplained. The French scholar, Burnouf, translated in 1833, through the help of Sanskrit, the Avestan Yasna, Chapter I. Thenceforward, through the light of Sanskrit, the Avestan studies were placed on a scientific basis. With the progress of the science of philology in Europe and investigations into the ancient knowledge of India, the contents of the Avesta have gradually come to light. The Pahlavi commentary of the Avesta called the 'Zand' is traditional and less reliable in comparison with the philological translation. Still this Pahlavi commentary is a key to the understanding

of the Avesta, and a sure and useful guide for the elucidation and solution of many of the Avestan passages. It is necessary to state further that the Avestan language was forgotten in those days when the commentary was written in Sasanian times. The commentators of the Sasanian times were obliged to content themselves with the traditional commentary of the holy Scriptures. We utilize the help of the Sanskrit language, not only in order to find out the exact meaning of words, but also to understand the contents of the Avesta, except in the case of the Gâthâs. We have also to utilize the Sanskrit literature. There is again a part of the later Avesta, the contents of which can be explained through the Vedas and the famous epic Mahâbhârata. We have some names of deities and heroes common to the Avesta as well as the Sanskrit literatures. There is certainly no doubt that Vedic scholars in their turn require the help of the old Persian Scriptures in the course of their work of research. According to the researches of orientalists, one part of the Vedas was written on Iranian soil and some of the Rishis (singers of the Vedas) were Iranian and many songs of the Vedas breathe the Iranian spirit. To support this statement, I should like to mention that the Vedic writers speak of beautiful horses; now this is a purely Iranian trait. The Avesta and the Vedas are the monuments of two sister nations of Aryan stock. Even to-day, after thousands of years, we can very well understand the feelings and thoughts of our renowned ancestors. These two literatures are quite free from the pollution of politics and economics of the last centuries, and are the only holy and unique heritage of the expressions of the heart relations of the ancient Iranians and Indians which have come down to us.

We cannot say with certainty to-day, where we Indians and Iranians lived together in olden times and when we separated from each other. I need not enter deeply into this subject and waste time in hypothetical speculations. But some historians conjecture that the appearance of the holy Zarathustra and the promulgation of his new religion were the causes of the separation of the Indians and the Iranians. We cannot give any attention to this baseless hypothesis. This much is certain that it was after the separation, after the Iranians had settled in Irân, that the holy prophet Zarathustra appeared. In the third lecture, I am to speak about the age of Zarathustra. Looking into the books of the Avesta and the Vedas, we find that there is a close resemblance between the Hindus and the Iranians in every respect. But when we look into the histories of later times, we see a difference between the character of these two peoples. These differences are shown to be due to the influence of the climate of their respective countries. After their emigration to the shore of the Indus and the plains of the Punjab, the Hindus gradually occupied the whole of India. Their place of sojourn was very warm and full of water; the land being very fertile, they had not to toil very hard for existence; they could easily get all the necessaries of life in abundance; and they became meditators and thinkers in this land of abundance and rest. On the other hand, the Iranians having migrated to the plains of Oxus (Amu-Darya) and Jaxartes (Sir-Darya), and spread gradually over the whole of the Iranian Table-land, were in a dry and waterless country. They had to suffer from a very hot summer and a freezing winter. They were forced to labour and struggle hard for their livelihood. The hard land and nature's obstructions made them valiant

Now we shall see in what country in Central Asia the Iranians settled themselves after their migration and what name they gave to it.

This country is often mentioned as **Airyana Vaêjanh** in the Avesta. Our modern name **Îrân** is derived from the first part of the word. The philological meaning of 'Vaêjanh' is not known. The orientalist trace its equivalent in the Sanskrit बीज, 'bija' or बीज, 'vija,' which means "seed." 'Airyana Vaêja' was not the name of the whole extensive tract of land called **Îrân**, but it was the name given to that portion where the Iranians first settled and from where they gradually advanced further. The Iranians remember their first settlement with respect. With the lapse of centuries this ancient land took a spiritual aspect for the Iranians and they called it an earthly paradise. After the passing of very long periods, a thick thread of mythical web covered this cradle-land of the Aryans, and a doubt was created as to the existence of this land. When some of the orientalist saw the name of this country wrapped up with fables and myths, they were confused and they considered this land to be a celestial region. But there is no room for doubt to-day that **Airyana Vaêja** was the name of a country which really existed. It is only due to the absence of sufficient means and the length of past ages that we are not able to fix with certainty the exact situation of this place. We come across names of many provinces, mountains and rivers in the Avesta and they are fortunately preserved for us. We find some of these

names used by Greek and Roman historians and geographers, in the inscriptions of the great Achæmenian kings, and even some of the modern names are found to agree with these old names. For such names, there is no difficulty of identification. There are some names which are found only once in the Avesta, though often repeated in Pahlavi books where they are found without any explanation, without being mentioned anywhere else. In such cases we are not able to ascertain their exact location with certainty. The difficulties existing to-day of identifying these proper names in the Avesta, even existed 1300 years ago, in the Sasanian period, nay even before the Arab invasion in the seventh century after Christ. Because in those periods too, the people were far removed from the time of the appearance of the Mazdayasnâns, *i.e.*, believers in one God, and the composition of the various parts of the Avesta. The old problems took a mythical colour and shape and they appeared in another form and fashion. A group of such proper names had contradictory descriptions in Pahlavi books, wherein various mixed and perplexing descriptions are to be found. These narrations prevent us from finding out the truth and are the cause of our misapprehensions to-day. For instance, the Pahlavi book 'Zand-Âkâsih,' popularly known as the Bûdahisn, written in the eighth century after Christ, clearly says in Chapter XXIX, 12, that Airyana Vaêja was by the side of Âzarbâijân. We further gather from several other passages of the same book that its author thought Airyana Vaêja to be in the North-western direction. Reading this description in the Bûdahisn, some orientalists looked for it in the North-west; they there found a country in the neighbourhood of Âzarbâijân named Arân and therefore

they thought it to be the Airyana Vaêja of the Avesta. Arabian geographers have mentioned this country as Al-Arran, which is the same as Albania of the Greek and Roman writers. Estakhri, who lived in the tenth century after Christ, had located this country from the North-east to Darband, from the West to Tiflis, and from the South-west to the river Aras (Araxes). After two centuries, the well-known Yâkût (1178-1229 A.C.), wrote that Al-Arran was separated from Âzarbâijân by the river Aras (Araxes). He considered the land watered by the river Araxes to the North and the West to be Al-Arran. A century later, Hamdullah Mustowfi, in his book 'Kitâb-i Nuzhat-ul-Kulub', written in 1339 A.C., said: "The countries of Arân and Moghân are connected with the provinces of Armenia, Shirwân, Âzarbâijân and the Caspian Sea." In another place he said: "Arân was between the two rivers Araxes and Kur." After the Mongol invasion the southern part of old Arân was given a new name, 'Karâbâgh,' partly Iranian and partly Turkish. It is known even to-day as 'Karâbâgh,' i.e., "Black Garden." The reasons which led the orientalist astray to misunderstand this North-west country of Arân as Airyana were the Bûndahisn, Chapter XXIX, 12, which located it on the side of Âzarbâijân, and its very name was the cause of the mistake. This country was known from old times with its Iranian name Arân which they confounded with Airyana. Neither of these two suppositions of the orientalist is correct; because the contents of the Bûndahisn referring to the geographical names are not reliable. There are many examples of geographical mistakes in this book. The formation of the word 'Arân' must be carefully noted. The original word 𐬀𐬵𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 must philologically become ایران (Irân) as it is to-day, and not 'Arân'. To these two arguments another

must be added. Arân was never an Aryan province. From what Strabo, the well-known Greek geographer of the first century before Christ, has said of the habits and customs of the inhabitants of Arân and Albania, it can be proved that this country was not Iranian. It is not logical to consider this country as the cradle-land of the Aryans. There is another group of orientalists who rightly indicate the location of Irân Vêj towards the East. Keipert supposes the location of Irân Vêj to be towards the South-east of Farghâneh. Geiger believes that Irân Vêj is to the North-east of Farghâneh, and the present Kuhistân, the neighbouring lands of Farghâneh, is the site of the old Airyana-Vaêja. Tiele thought that Airyana Vaêja was in the North-east and the country of Khwârezm, the present Khivâ, was its original site. Justi has said that Khwârezm was the oldest settlement of the Iranians. Andreas also took Khwârezm to be the same as Airyana Vaêja. The late Professor Marquart, too, a great authority on old Persian geography, believed that Khwârezm was the old Airyana Vaêja. We have historical and philological arguments to prove conclusively that the modern Khivâ in Russian Turkestan was the original site of Airyana Vaêja which was located on the shores of the famous river Amu-Dariya, called Oxus by the classical writers.

From the Avesta itself we can gather easily that by Airyana Vaêja, the country of Khwârezm is meant. Of the texts which mention Irân Vêj and its river Dâiti, three paragraphs of the Vendidâd (*i.e.*, the Legal and Sanitary Code of the Zoroastrians), Chapter I, attract our special attention. This chapter mentions sixteen countries and the adversities produced by Anra Mainyu (*i.e.*, the Evil Spirit) against the good creatures of Ahura Mazdâ, for the harm and desolation of each of these

countries. Irân Vêj is placed at the head of these sixteen countries. The three paragraphs say :—

1. "Ahura Mazdâ spoke unto Zarathustra: 'O Spî-tama Zarathustra! I created places giving happiness where there was no joy. If I had not created places giving happiness where there was no joy, all the people would have flocked to Airyana Vaêja.

2. "The first of places and countries that I Ahura Mazdâ created was Airyana Vaêja the best, where was the good river Dâiti. Anra Mainyu, full of death, produced there for adversity river snakes and devilish winter."

3. ["There are ten months of winter and two months of summer; (and these two months too) are cold for the water, cold for the earth, and cold for the plants. Here is the centre of winter, here is the heart of winter, after the winter comes to an end there come torrents."]

Thus commencing with Irân Vêj, the subsequent paragraphs mention the countries to the North-east and East of Irân, such as Sogdiana, Margiana, Bactriana, Nisaya between Margiana and Bactriana, Aria, Kabul and nine others. Of these sixteen countries, fifteen can be identified, and the first, Airyana Vaêja, is not at all mythical, but is quite identifiable just like the other fifteen. It is strange that the very old and renowned country, Khwârezm or the present Khivâ, is not mentioned in this list.

We can, however, say with certainty that by سردآزم سردآزم Khwârezm is meant in the paragraph mentioned above.

As Khwârezm was the first settlement of the Iranians it was named Airyana Vaêja after them, in order to preserve the memory of old times. This country is known with its renowned name خوارزم,

'Kh'airizem,' also in the Avesta. Marv and Sogdiana are countries in its neighbourhood and are usually mentioned

together, *e.g.*, in *Mihir Yast*, 14. *Mihir Yast*, 13 mentions Khwârezm, Marv and Sogdiana where they are called *دژگانان*, *i.e.*, the settlements or abodes of the Iranians. Just like the first chapter of the *Vendidâd*, Darius the Great named Aria, Khwârezm, Bactriana and Sogdiana together, amongst the North-east and Eastern provinces which were under his suzerainty in his three inscriptions, one at Behistun and the other two in Fars, in Takht-i Jamsid and Naks-i Rustam.

Passing from the Avesta, we possess historical arguments also to show that in very old times Khwârezm was a famous country of the Iranians and was the centre of civilization in Central Asia. According to Herodotus 3, 117, before the foundation of the Achæmenian dynasty, in 559 B.C., Khwârezm possessed great glory and importance. As regards the importance, fame and antiquity of the civilization of Khwârezm, the religious books of the Iranians and the reports of old Greek historians bear ample testimonies. But this is not the time to speak of the history of this country.

Bândahisn, XVII, mentioning the names of the renowned fires, says, that Jamsid, who is also mentioned in the Hindu Scriptures, was the founder of the Frenabag Fire in Khwârezm. It was the protector of the first Iranian spiritual leaders. According to the Bândahisn, the location of this fire is 'Mount Kh'arêh-aumand', *i.e.*, "the Glorious Mountain."

Relating to the antiquity of Khwârezm, Al-Birûnî's statement is worthy of note. In his book called '*Āthâr-ul-Bakîeh*', written in about 1000 A.C., this learned writer states:—"To the Khwarezmiyans the coming of Siyavush the son of Kai-Kaus in Khwarezm was the starting point of their date.¹" In other words, the time of founda-

tion of the sovereignty of Khwārezm, which was counted at 980 years before Alexander the Great, was the beginning of the Era of the Khwarezmians. In this case, when we count the correct dates, we find that the invasion of Alexander the Great in Western Persia and the death of the last Achæmenian king Darius III took place in 330 B. C. Taking this into consideration, we can say that the civilization of Khwārezm was at its height 1310 years before Christ.

Many Avesta and Pahlavi passages depict the holiness of Irân Vêj and its river Dâiti. It is the soil on which descended the glory of Ahura Mazdâ and the Ameshâspends; it was the cradle of the civilization and the religion of Irân. The prophet of Irân received the revelation on the banks of the river Dâiti. The heroes of Irân propitiated the Yazatas on the banks of this river and thereby obtained salvation and success. For example, in the Vendidad, II, 20-21, we read: "Ahura Mazdâ held a conference of the spiritual Yazatas in the renowned Airyana Vaêja (whither is) the good river Dâiti. King Yima, good protector of the flock, held a conference with the best of men in the renowned Airyana Vaêja (whither is) the good river Dâiti."

"To this conference came Ahura Mazdâ, the Creator, with the spiritual Yazatas in the renowned Airyana Vaêja, (whither is) the good river Dâiti. To this conference came King Yima, good protector of the flock in the famous Airyana Vaêja, (whither is) the good river Dâiti."

In Yasna IX, 4, we read: "In the renowned Airyana Vaêja, thou, O Zarathustra! first recitedst the 'Ahuna vairya' four times." In the Âbân Yast, 17-18, we read: "Ahura Mazdâ, the Creator, praised the Yazata Anâhita in the renowned Airyana Vaêja, (whither is) the good river Dâiti; He wished that He may lead the holy Zarathustra, son of Pourushaspa, to think, speak

and act according to religion." In the Râm Yast, 2-3, again we find: "Ahura Mazdâ, the Creator, praised the Yazata Râma, in Airyana Vaêja, of the good river Dâiti, and desired to vanquish Anra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit)." According to the Âbân Yast, 104-105, "The holy Zarathustra prayed in the renowned Airyana Vaêja of the good river Dâiti, and wished that he may lead the valiant Kava Vistâspa, son of Aurvataspa, to think, speak and act according to religion." According to the Gôs Yast, 25-26, "The holy Zarathustra desired of Drvâspa, in the renowned Airyana Vaêja of the good river Dâiti, that he may lead the good, noble Hutaosa, wife of Vistâspa, to think, speak and act according to religion."

From the passages quoted above we should not, however, come to the conclusion that Zarathustra was born in the East of Irân. From the traditions and other evidence in our hands, we find that Zarathustra came from the West of Irân and had first propounded his religion in the East of Irân. The Zoroastrian religion had spread and progressed in the modern Russian Turkestan, and in the countries to the North-east and East of Irân including a part of Afghanistan. All these countries are the scene of our national epic and the battle field of our valiant heroes. The North of Irân, specially the provinces of Gilân and Mâzandarân, were the habitations of the 'divs' in the religious history of Irân. The religion of Zarathustra was not accepted in these countries including Arân which, before the migration of the Iranians, were the habitations of non-Aryan tribes, and it is therefore that in the Avesta they are called the worshippers and followers of 'divs' and 'drujs.' At a later period, all these Northern tribes came over to the Zoroastrian religion. The Southern Irân is not at all mentioned in connection with the spread of Zoroastrianism.

mediæval period the river Jaihun is called 'Vêh-rût', *i.e.*, "the Good River" in the Pahlavi writings with this Avestan attribute 'vanuhi.' The Chinese have also named this river as such. Its original ordinary Iranian name must have been 'Vakhshu', *i.e.*, "rising," "progressing," from the root 𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀 "to increase." The word 'vakhsh' is very often used in the Avesta with this meaning. In the Sanskrit literature 'Vakshu' is the name given to the river Oxus; it seems certain that the old geographers of Greece and Rome had taken from the Iranian word 'vakhshu' the name of the river Oxus. Iranian and Arabian geographers consider 'Vakhsha' to be a land on the bank of the Oxus, and 'Vakhsh-âb' is the name of one of the rivulets of Jaihun. Whilst speaking about the months and feasts of the Khwârezmiyans Al-Birûni has said:—"On the tenth day of Mah Asfand the Khwarezmiyans held a feast called Vakhsh-Hangâm." Vakhsh is the name of the guardian spirit of the waters. It is specially the guardian spirit of the river Oxus.

I have said above that the Oxus is also called the Amu-Daria. It will not be out of place to say a few words here about the etymology of the word 'Amu', 'Amui' or 'Amul.' It was the name of a non-Iranian tribe of Tabaristan, the modern Mâzandarân. The name of this tribe is given to the town Amul in Mâzandarân. The name of this tribe was originally Mardâ or Amardâ. The old Greek and Roman historians called it Mardoi or Amardoi, *i.e.*, "pernicious" or "very pernicious." Alexander the Great constantly fought with this tribe till he subdued it. After Alexander, the Parthian king, Phraates I. drove them out to a place in the Caucasus. A branch of this tribe settled on an estuary of the river Oxus and further East. The city of Amul or Amui in the middle-century, which is the present Chaharjui, is named

after the same tribe. The river Oxus also took the name of this tribe. Yakut, following Hamzah-i Isfahani, has said that Harum was the old name of Oxus. Harum is probably a corruption of Vêh-rûd or Beh-rûd. Another mediæval geographer, Dameshki, has written Bad-rud as the name of the river Oxus. It is, however, clear that it is so written due to a mistake of orthography and the word must have been Beh-rûd.

In the end, let me add that from what we have seen above, Airyana Vaêja is the same as Khwârezm or the modern Khivâ, and the river Dâiti is the same as the river Oxus. We have noted above that Khwârezm is mentioned with its religious name Airyana Vaêja in the Vendidad, I, in which sixteen countries are mentioned. In all his three inscriptions, one at Behistun and two at Persepolis, Darius the Great has mentioned Khwârezm amongst his North-eastern and Eastern Provinces exactly in the same order as in the first Fragard of the Vendidad, namely, Herat, Khwârezm, Balkh and Sogdiana. Just as the Vendidad describes Airyana Vaêja as a very cold country, the old geographer, Istakhri, mentions that Khwârezm is the coldest country in the East. Another geographer of the Moavian age, Abu-l-Fakih, mentioned Khwârezm as the coldest country of Irân.

It is very interesting to note here that in the 'Farhang-i Jehângîrî, a lexicon written in India in king Jehangir's time, the river Dâiti is mentioned as Amu-Daria with a further note that it is also called 'Âbehî.' This word Â-behî is exactly the same as 'Âb-i behî,' i.e., the Vêh-rûd of the Pahlavi writers.

TURAN

In my first lecture I spoke of the Aryans and of Airyana Vaêja, the first settlement of the Iranians.

Whilst speaking of the location of Airyana Vaêja, I tried to show how the Iranians had advanced in civilisation and culture and had led a settled life.

My subject, to-day, is: "The Turanian, an Aryan Tribe."

We must remember that the Turanians were the opponents of the Iranians from times immemorial. In the beginning of the new Iranian civilisation, tribes such as that of the Turanians had come into conflict with the advancing elements of the Iranian race. I mention in my lecture, to-day, some Turanian names, without giving their etymology, because their derivations are explained in Bartholomae's 'Altiranisches Wörterbuch' and in Justi's 'Iranisches Namenbuch,' where all the names occurring in the Avesta and Pahlavi literatures and in the Shâh-nâma are etymologically explained. The very fact that these names are of Iranian origin is enough to prove that the Turanians were originally Aryans.

The religion of Zarathustra is a religion of order and settled life. From the Gâthâs, too, we find that Zarathustra wanted to establish a higher order of culture than that of the wandering, nomadic tribes such as the Turanians. The adventurous moving tent life of the Turanians was not agreeable to the more cultured Iranians and there were, therefore, constant conflicts between them.

'Tûr' is a collective name given to all the nomad tribes who were not advanced in civilisation and not leading a peaceful settled life.

The Parthian, the Scythian or Sakae, the Massagetae and the Dahae were known by a common collective name as Turanians. We know, even to-day, that the Kurds, wherever they live, are good Iranians, although their ways of life are more or less nomadic.

To-day I will try to show why the Turanians were taken to be a foreign, *i.e.*, non-Aryan tribe, and the causes of such an appellation. At present, it will be enough to say that in the times of the Avesta and the old historical records where the Turanians are mentioned, the foreign non-Aryan Mongol tribes had not touched the Turanian soil which they penetrated much later.

In order to know something about the Turanian people, it is essential to have a knowledge of the religious history of the Iranians as well as the Brahmans. The Avesta mentions the Turanians and the Iranians and the heroes of these two communities who came into contact with one another. We find their mention also in our national epic. We similarly find Turanian names mentioned in the books relating to Brahmanism. The orientalists believe that a group of the Rishis or holy singers of the Vedas was Turanian, Scythian or Parthian. They maintain that from the style of many of the Vedic songs it can be said that they were written on the Iranian or Turanian soil or in Central Asia. My object here is to speak of the Turanians from the point of view of their relationship with the Iranians. In order to understand clearly whatever is said of the Turanians in the Avesta, I rely on the national epic of the Iranians and take other historical facts into consideration.

'Tûra' (𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀) is the Avestan name of the people of Tûrân. 'Tûirya' (𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬎) is an Avestan adjective which means "belonging to Tûrân" or "the Turanian."

In the *Âbân Yast*, 53-58, we read: "The valiant warrior Tusa worshipped Anâhita on the back of his horse. He begged of her a boon, saying: Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that I may overcome the gallant sons of Vaêsaka, by the castle Khshathrô-saoka, that stands high up on the lofty, holy Kanha; that I may smite of the Turanian people their fifties and their hundreds, their thousands and their tens of thousands, and their myriads.

"The Turanian generals, the valiant sons of Vaêsaka, also worshipped her in their turn, in the castle Khshathrô-saoka, that stands high up on the lofty, holy Kanha, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen and ten thousand small animals. They begged of her a boon, saying: Grant us this, O good most beneficent Ardvi Sûra Anâhita! that we may overcome the valiant warrior Tusa, and that we may smite of the Aryan people their fifties and their hundreds, their thousands and their tens of thousands and their myriads."

In the passages quoted above, we find that before going to war the warrior of Irân prayed that he might vanquish the Turanians in his own land near the "fort of Kanha." The generals of Tûrân also worshipped Anâhita in their own land in the "fort of Kanha" and prayed that they might defeat the Iranians. The name of the mountain pass 'Khshathrô-saoka' is not mentioned anywhere else except in the passages quoted above. Its etymological meaning is "the light of the city." The name of the fort Kanha is found in the Avesta as well as in the national epic. Kanha is the city which Siyâvas son of Kaikâus had built at the time of his emigration from Irân to Tûrân. The episode is well-known that Siyâvas, on account of the treachery of his step-mother Sûdâba, went away to Tûrân and there married Firangiz, daughter

way, and Ashi, the Yazata of wealth, and Parendi, the Yazata of abundance, led the arrow to its destination. The arrow was shot in order to fix the boundary line between Irân and Tûrân. This episode is found in all the books of Persian history. The Turanian king Afrâsiyâb, after having conquered Minochehr at Tabaristân (modern Mâzandarân), made a treaty of peace for the settlement of the boundaries of Irân and Tûrân. It was so proposed that the famous archer Erekhsha should dart an arrow and the place where it fell be fixed as the boundary line between the two countries. We cannot identify either the mountain Airyô-khshutha, from where the arrow was shot or the mountain Kh'anvant where it fell. The former, which is in Tabaristân, is considered by some old writers to be Sâri; according to others it is Rûyân and others take it to be a hill in its vicinity; the latter, which is in the eastern Irân, is, according to different opinions, in Margiana or in Sogdiana or on the shore of the river Oxus. Any way, we have to suppose that the place where the arrow fell must be in the vicinity of Sogdiana or Samarkand. Ptolemy, the Greek geographer of the second century A.C., says that Tûra is a district in Khwarezm. Al-Khwarezmi, who lived in the tenth century of the Christian era, says in his book called 'Mafatih-ul-'ulûm,' that the region of Tûrân, according to the Iranians, is ordinarily the country close to the river Oxus. In the Shâh-nâma, Tûrân is the country of the Turks and the Chinese, and is separated from Irân by the river Oxus. In all the Iranian and Arabic books of the middle ages which we have consulted, we find an inclination of these writers to place Tûrân in Transoxiana. Modern scholars and orientalist believe that the Turanian was either a tribe living in the Russian Steppes and in Asiatic

Russia, or it was the nomad tribe which spread from the Caucasus to the river Araxes.

Now we will take up the question of the origin and the race of the Turanians. After studying the Avesta and Pahlavi religious books, national histories and traditions, and the old classical writers, there remains not the slightest doubt that the Iranians and the Turanians were both of the same origin and race, with this difference that the Iranians soon settled down and progressed rapidly towards civilisation, whilst the Turanians remained nomads. The old tradition is repeated in all our books that Faridun, Thraëtaona of the Avesta, and Trita (त्रित) of the Sanskrit literature, son of Âbtin, *i.e.*, Âthwyâna of the Avesta and Âptya (अप्य) in Sanskrit, was a king of the Pêsdâdian dynasty, (*i.e.*, the dynasty of the first law-givers). He divided his country amongst his three sons Salm, Tûr and Iraj. Each of them gave his own name to his realm, and they became known as Salmân, Tûrân and Irân. According to the Dînkard, Book VIII, Ch. 12, 9, it was stated in the Avestan Chitradât Nask, *i.e.*, the eleventh of the twenty-one books of the Zoroastrians, that Faridun divided his kingdom of the Kh'aniras, the central region of this earth, amongst his three sons Salm, Tûr and Iraj. Unfortunately the Chitradât Nask is not extant to-day, but this tradition is mentioned in all the historical books in detail. It is exhaustively treated in the Shâh-nâma and the Bûndahisn, XXXI, 9-14. The countries of these three sons and two others are mentioned in the Avesta. In the Fravardin Yast, 143-145, it is said: "We praise the Fravashis, the guardian spirits, of the holy men and women of Irân; we praise the Fravashis of the holy men and women of Tûrân; we praise the Fravashis of the holy men and

women of Sairima. We praise the Fravashis of the holy men and women of Sâini; we praise the Fravashis of the holy men and women of Dâhi. We praise all the Fravashis of the faithful from Gayamaretan to Saoshyant.”

From these passages we find that after mentioning five countries, the Fravashis of all the holy men and women of all the countries 'from Gayamaretan the first man up to Saoshyant the last man and *Messiah* of the Mazdayasnâns are praised. We must note here that the later writers, counted the region of the Turk, the Khazar, China, Tibet and the East as the countries of Tûr, and the region of Rome, Russia, Alam and the West as the countries of Salm. We will explain later on how this confusion arose. In contradiction to this mistake, we find that Irân, Tûrân, Salmân, Sâini and Dâhi, all these five countries mentioned in the Fravardin Yast, belong to the Aryan people.

The Sairimas or the Salmân are the people of Sarm or Salm and are named Sarmat or Sauromat by the classical writers. Their country was extended from the north-east of the lake Aral to the river Volga. According to the classical Roman writers, Diodorus and Pliny the Elder, the Medians were the relatives of the Sarmats.

As regards the Sâini (سائینی) of the Fravardin Yast, 144, we know nothing and it is not possible to identify this country. The suppositions and hypotheses of scholars do not help us to identify the place.

The Dâha (داهای) are the Dâsa of the Rig Veda. They were savages or barbarians opposed to the Âryas, i.e., the nobles. Their country was to the east of the Caspian Sea. Dahistan, the country of Dâha to the north of Hyrcania, belongs to this people. According to

Berosus, the priest and historian of the third century B.C., "Cyrus the Great in his last battles fought with the Dâhis." Arien, the Greek historian of the first century A.C., wrote that a part of the soldiers of Darius III, who fought with Alexander, was composed of the Dâhis. Afterwards, these Dâhis were also in the cavalry of the archers of Alexander and Antiochus. A part of the army of the Parthians was made up of this tribe. The second Parthian king Tiridates (243-214 B.C.) had proceeded to vanquish the Seleucides with the help of the Parns, who were a branch of the Dâhis. At any rate, we come across the history of this bold Dâhi people and their country between the river Oxus and the Caspian Sea from the oldest time to the Arab invasion in the seventh century A.C. Whilst speaking of Cyrus the Great, Herodotus (1, 125) mentions some Iranian tribes in Pars, whom Cyrus desired to revolt against Astyages, the last king of the Medians. Amongst these tribes one was named the Dâhi, which was composed of nomads and shepherds. From this account of Herodotus, we know that the Dâhi tribe had spread in different places of Irân. From various geographical writings of the middle ages we find that Dahistan, the country of the Dâhis, is mentioned as located in the various parts of Irân. The Greeks gave the collective name Scyth to the Dâhis, the Sarmats, the Massagetes, a tribe in the vicinity of the lake Aral and called by them with its indigenous name Massyagattes meaning fish-eaters, and other tribes. The Parthians and their branch the Parians were nomads; we must, therefore, class them as Turanians or as Scythians just as the Greeks did.

Whilst writing of the dress and weapons of the Iranian army fighting with the Greeks in 480 B.C.,

Herodotus (7, 64) states that the Sakas, who were of Scythian nationality, wore long pointed helmets. Even if they were Amyrgioi or Scythians, the Iranians called them the Sakas. It is no mistake to say that these Sakas and Scythians are Turanians.

Whilst mentioning all the countries under his sway in his inscriptions of Behistun and Persepolis, Darius the Great does not say anything about Tûrân, but he mentions the three tribes of the Sakas. The first is the Saka Haumavarka, *i.e.*, the Saka with the Haoma leaves; perhaps this Saka tribe used the Haoma plant, the सोम of the Hindus. From this word we can trace the Aryan civilisation of this tribe. The second is the Saka tighra-khauda, *i.e.*, the Saka having pointed helmets. This tribe might be the same as the Amyrgioi of Herodotus. The third is the Saka tara-drava, *i.e.*, the Saka on the other side of the sea. According to the German scholar Weissbach, this tribe must be of the Bosphorus and the Black Sea. The Aryan names, habits and customs of these people particularly, which have reached us from the accounts of classical writers, leave no room for doubt as to their Iranian origin. They resemble the Medians and the Persians in all their traits. Darius the Great does not mention, in his inscriptions, the country named after the Saka, *i.e.*, Sakastâna, the modern Sistân; but he mentions Zaranka, which was the name of this country before the migration of the Saka. The classical writers called it Zarangoi or Drangiana. At the end of the last century before Christ, the Sakas migrated to Zaranka, gave their own name to this new place and called it Sakastâna, which is the Sistân of to-day.

It is very interesting to note here the fact that in the recent excavations at Persepolis, four plates are

unearthed, two of gold and two of silver, each weighing nearly three maunds and four seers. They are inscribed, as in Behistun, in three languages, *viz.*, the Achæmenian, the Babylonian and the Susian. Darius the Great, whilst giving the limits of his dominions says in these inscriptions: "Darius the great king, the king of kings, the son of Vistâspa, the . Hakhamanishiya, says that my dominions extend from Saka which is beyond Sogdiana upto Kûsha, and from the Hindu countries upto Spardâ; Auramazda who is the great Lord granted me these dominions. May Auramazda protect me and my clan."

From the inscriptions on these new plates, we learn that the dominions of Darius extended on one side from the boundaries of China where lay the countries of the Saka or the Turanians up to Sudan and Abyssinia in Africa, and on the other side from the Hindu countries up to Lydia in the Mediterranean.

Another branch of the Turanians is called Dânu (دَئو) in the Avesta. In the Âbân Yast, 72-73, three Iranians, offering their worship to Anâhita, desire to vanquish the Turanian Dânus. We read in the Fravardîn Yast, 37-38, also: "We praise the good, strong, holy Fravashis of the faithful, having many battalions, girded with weapons, with glittering banners, who came down in fierce battles towards the Khstâvis, there where the valiant Khstâvis (خستَویس) assailed the Dânus.

According to the Zamyât Yast, 41, Vareshava Dânayana (وَرَشَوَ دَئَوَنَیانا) is one of the heroes killed by Keresâspa. He seems to have been a descendant of the Turanian Dânu. In the Vedas Dânu is the name of a class of demons against whom Indra fought. The Hindus used this word as the name of a demon inimical to their deity, and the same word was used by the

Iranians for a tribe of their Turanian adversaries. We have seen above that Dâha, Sanskrit Dasa, was used by the Iranians, at a later period, as the name of another Turanian tribe.

The Kh^yyaona (𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀) of the Avesta seems to have been a Turanian tribe. Next to Tuirya Franrasyana, the Turanian Afrâsiyâb, of the Avesta, is Arejaṭ-aspa (𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀), who is called Arjâsp in the Shâh-nâma, a Turanian king and nephew of Afrâsiyâb. Like Afrâsiyâb he is not actually called Turanian; however, he belongs to the tribe of the Kh^yyaona. In Pahlavi books, such as the Dinkard, Book VII, Ch. 4, 87-89, the Yâtgâr-i Zarîrân and the Sahrastân-i Irân, 9, Arjâsp is said to have belonged to the Kh^yyaona tribe. Our knowledge of this tribe is very limited. This tribe must be that of the Huns or the Hephthalites. Consequently, it may be conjectured that this word was introduced in the Avestan literature in the fourth century after Christ. Amianus Marcellinus speaks of such a tribe who fought with the Sasanian king, Sâhpor II. We may surmise that all the enemies of Irân, to whatever race they belonged, were called Turanians. Similarly, we might say that Arjâsp, king of Tûrân, the old adversary of Irân, was named after the Kh^yyaonas, adversaries of the Iranians in the fourth century A.C. In the Shâh-nâma and other books of Persian history the Kh^yyaona tribe is not mentioned. In old classical history, Amianus Marcellinus, who was born in 330 A.C. and was living in 390 A.C., has mentioned a community called the Chionitæ in Latin. This historian, who had taken part in the battle of Rome, had accompanied Emperor Julianus against Sâhpor II and was an eye-witness to the battle, has often spoken of the Chionitæ. As stated by this historian in his Book 16, Ch. 9, Sâhpor II fought with

the Chionitæ and the Cuseni (Kûsan) on the extreme boundary of his country in Balkh, in 356 A.C. After some time Sâhpor made peace with the Chionitæ and the Gilânîs (Book 17). When Sâhpor's army advanced against Rome, Grumbates, the king of the Chionitæ, was riding on his left hand and the king of Albania on his right. Grumbates was a middle-aged man, wise and experienced, looking older than he was, and had earned fame by the many victories he had gained (Book 18, Ch. 6). Amianus, in Book 9, Ch. 1, speaks of this war and the siege of Amida (the present Diârbaker) by the Iranians in detail. In this siege, a young and handsome son of Grumbates was pierced by a sharp arrow which a Roman soldier had shot from the fort of Amida, and died. Amianus gives the details of this son's beauty and the army's lament on his death. His body was burnt after this. It is evident from this information that the Chionitæ were the followers of the old Aryan religion and burnt the dead as against the laws of the Sasanian religion. These Chionitæ may or may not be identified with the Kh^yaona of the Avesta. However, they are latterly regarded as Turks by the Iranians. As we shall see, the Iranians called all the Turanians as Turks and Chinese.

We have said that Arejât-aspa was called Kh^yaona in the Avesta. In the Zamyât Yast, 83-87, we read :

“We praise the strong Kayanian Kh^yarena, created by Mazdâ,...that clave unto Kava Vistâspa,...so that he believed in this Daênâ, vanquishing the foes and keeping the daêvas away from the holy men; he sought a free passage for the holy Law with the mace raised up; he became the arm and the support of this Ahurian Zarathustrian Daênâ; he freed her (Daênâ) standing in bondage from the Hunus; he gave her a high position.

a settled life, some branches staying in one country and some in another. At different periods, the north and the east of Irân were the seats of activity of these tribes.

The Parthians also form one group of these Turanian tribes. They settled in the modern Khorâsân and gave their own name to that province. In the Behistun and Naks-i Rostam inscriptions, Darius the Great mentions Parthava along with other countries. In the Behistun inscription he says: "At one time, Parthava and Varkâna (Gôrgân) rose in rebellion. My father Vistâspa quelled it on the 22nd day of the month Viyakhna," (*i.e.*, the 5th February, 521 B.C.).

Here I take the opportunity to say a few words on 'Parthava'. The word 'Pahlav' comes from the word 'Parthava.' The 'Pahlavi' or 'Pahlavâni' language is supposed to have originated from the 'Parthava.' Firdausi says:—

اگر پهلوانی ندانی ز باب بتازی تو اروند را دجله دان

"If you do not know the Pahlavâni language, know thou that in the Arabic language the name of the river Arvand is Dijleh (*i.e.*, the Tigris)."

The word 'pahlavân,' meaning "heroic," "bold," used in many languages of India too, is to be traced to the name of this tribe. Justi derives it from 'parthava,' meaning "side" or "boundary," because the Parthavas originally lived at the foot of the mountains.¹ But Khorâsân, the name given to the country of the Parthavas, etymologically means "the seat of the sun" or "the east." This name was given to all the countries of eastern Irân to the extreme boundary of the present Russian Turkestan. During the Achæmenian rule, when Khwarezm was taken away from the Parthavas, Balkh became the capital of Khorâsân and the seat of the

1 'Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie,' II, 481.

'Khshathrapâvans,' i.e., Governors. The Greek classical writers have changed this word to 'Satrap.' The As-kânians who ruled in Irân, the rulers of Armanastân, of Argandâb and Sîstân, were all Parthians.

In the beginning of my lecture, I have said that the Turanian country was connected from the east with Khwarezmiya. Hecataeus, the historian and geographer of the sixth century B.C. (550-476 B.C.), has written that the country of Khwarezmiya was inhabited towards the east by the Parthians. It is certain that this group of the Parthians must be a part of the tribes who remained in Central Asia. Parthava and the branches of these tribes were called Scythians by the Roman writers. In other words, all these wandering nomad Aryan tribes were called Turanian in contradistinction to other agricultural and settled Aryan tribes called Iranian. The habits and customs, as mentioned by the classical writers, of all the Saka tribes, prove that their religion was the same as that of the Aryans. From our national epic, we observe that the Turanians and Iranians possessed the same religion before the appearance of the holy Zarathustra, and the war of Arjâsp, king of Tûrân, was due to the fact that Kava Vistâspa, turning his face from the old religion, had adopted the religion of Zarathustra. The Pahlavi Yâtgâr-i Zarîrân, whilst describing the war of religion, says that "Arjâsp had sent a letter to Kai Vistâsp, asking him to refrain from this holy religion and to be of the same faith with him. According to the Shâh-nâma also, the old religion, which was followed before Zarathustrâ, is highly spoken of in the letter which Arjâsp wrote to Gustâsp, and it was regretted that the divine glory had passed away on account of the new religion. This religious war and all that is written about it, is proof positive that the

Turanians and the Iranians had followed the same Aryân religion; otherwise this war with such religious fervour would be without meaning. We can see from the Avestan literature itself, that in the beginning of the Zoroastrian religion, some Turanians were sympathetic towards Zoroastrianism, as the prophet of Irân has said in his own words in the Gâthas (Yasna 46, 12): "When by the effort of Ârmaiti, by whose radiance heaven will be organised, Truth will come to the praiseworthy descendants and relicts of the Turanian Fryânas, Vohuman will introduce them to the eternal kingdom, and Ahura Mazdâ will protect them on the day of judgment." The family of Fryâna, according to the Pahlavi books, was friendly to Zarathustra. In the Fravardîn Yast, 120, the Fravashi of Yôista (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀) of the Fryâna family is praised. According to the Âbân Yast, 81, Yôista worshipped Anâhita on the bank of the river Ranhâ, (*i.e.*, the Sir-Darya or Jaxartes), in the country of Tûrân, and wished to vanquish Akhtya, his adversary. In the Fravardîn Yast, 96, the Fravashis of the first followers and teachers of religion are praised. Amongst them, is mentioned Isvant (𐬵𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀) son of Varâza (𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀). The Dinkard, Book IX, Ch. 32, 5, whilst summarising the tenth Pargard of the Varstmânsar Nask, says: "Isvant, son of Varâz, of the country of Tûrân, will become Âtarevakhs at the time of the Renovation of the world, *i.e.*, at the Resurrection." Gradually, the Turanians, too, adopted Zoroastrianism. The Parthians or Askânians, who ruled from 250 B.C. to 224 A.C. were Zoroastrians. But the first kings of this dynasty were under the influence of the Greeks, *i.e.*, the Seleucides, who ruled after the Achæmenians from 323 to 250 B.C. They gradually came out of the Greek influence and from the time of Vologeses I, who ruled from 51-78 A.C.,

onwards, their coins bore the Aramaic instead of Greek characters and they no longer called themselves Philhellenes, *i.e.*, the friends of the Greeks, as they used to do in the past. According to the Dinkard, Book III, the Valkhash or Vologeses I was the first Iranian king, who gathered together the Zoroastrian books after the invasion and ruin brought about by Alexander, when the Avestan writings were totally scattered and destroyed. He must be Vologeses the first, because he is specially described in Iranian history as a very religious man. We learn from the Roman historians that Tiridates, brother of Vologeses I, was invited to Rome by the Emperor Nero to be crowned king of Armenia. But Tiridates would not go to Rome, crossing the sea, as water was a sacred element and he could not pollute it; he, therefore, took a very long route overland. On another occasion, Vologeses I was invited to Rome but he replied that king Nero should come over to him, as it was easy for him to cross the big sea. Nero could not understand the meaning of such a reply and took it to be an insult. It is a proved fact in history that the Parthians who ruled in Armanastân and those who ruled on the banks of the Indus and were known as Indo-Parthians were all Zoroastrians. That the quarrel between the Turanians and the Iranians was not only religious, is also clear. Because before the appearance of Zarathustra, the fights of the Turanian king Afrâsiyâb, first with the Pôsdâdian kings and then with the Kayânian kings, are well-known. In the Avesta, we find Afrâsiyâb competing with the Iranians for capturing the Kayânian Glory (𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀) of Irân. We read in the Âbân Yast, 41-43, that the Turanian murderer Frangrasyan (Afrâsiyâb) worshipped Anâhita, in a cave underneath this earth, with a hundred horses, a thousand oxen and ten thousand small animals, that hē

may seize hold of that Glory which is floating in the sea Vouru-kasha, and which belongs to the Aryan people, to those born and those not yet born, and to the holy Zarathustra. Anâhita did not grant him that boon. The Zamyât Yast, the oldest epic of Irân, dealing with the Kayânian Glory, states in 56-64 how the wicked Turanian Frangrasyan endeavoured to capture the Kayânian Glory which belonged to the Aryan nations born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathustra. Three times he threw himself into the sea Vouru-kasha and struggled hard to seize the Glory, but he did not succeed; he, therefore, came out disappointed and uttered foul words. According to the Zamyât Yast, 93, Afrâsiyâb had secured this Glory temporarily, so that he might kill the wicked Zainigao (زانیگاو), enemy of Irân. One of the noted fights between the Iranians and the Turanians had taken place between Afrâsiyâb and Kaikhusru, which ended with the death of Afrâsiyâb. This fight was undertaken by Kaikhusru in revenge of his father, the holy and innocent Siyâvas who was unjustly killed by Afrâsiyâb. This war is referred to in Yasna XI, 7, Gôş Yast, 17-18, 21-22, and Zamyât Yast, 77, 93.

The names of the two brothers of Afrasiyâb, Karsivaz and Agrirath, are found in Persian and are preserved in the Avesta as Keresavazda (𐬕𐬁𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬰𐬭𐬀) and Aghraêratha (𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬢𐬀). From the Zamyât Yast, 77, we find that the two brothers Frangrasyan and Keresavazda were put in bonds by Kava Husrava (Kaikhusru). Aghraêratha, who was a pious man and a friend of the Iranians, was killed by his brother Frangrasyana, but Kaikhusru avenged his murder. Syâvarshâna (Siyâvas) and Aghraêratha are often mentioned together in the Avesta. In the Fravardin Yast, the Fravashi of Aghraêratha is

praised in the same rank as that of other holy Īrānians. We must note that all these three names Frangrasyana, Keresavazda and Aghraêratha are Aryan. In the traditions, too, we find that Afrâsiyâb is shown to have been of Aryan origin. In the Shâh-nâma and in the Pahlavi and other historical books, the genealogy of Afrâsiyâb, traced five generations upwards, reaches Tûra, son of Thraêtaona (Faridun). We have seen that Faridun had divided his dominions amongst his three sons: Salm, Tûr and Iraj. Each of these gave his own name to his dominion which was respectively called after the name of each of them as Sarmân or Salmân, Tûrân and Irân. Omar Khayyam, in his 'Nav-ruz Nâma,' indicates the boundaries of Tûrân from the river Oxus to China and says that the kings of Irân, Tûrân and Salmân are from the same origin, are related to each other and are the children of Faridun.

Another cause of the differences between the Turanians and the Iranians was the rapid advance of the Iranians in civilization, whilst the Turanians remained in a nomad state. The settled and agricultural Iranian tribes were plundered and robbed by the wandering Turanians. The Ashi Yast, 55-56, has preserved the story of the fight between the Turanians and the Naotaryâns, *i.e.*, the Kayanian descendents of Naotara (Nôzar). The Yazata Ashi says: "When the Turanians and the Naotaras with their swift horses banished me, then did I hide myself under the foot of a bull...; but the youths of tender age and the maidens, who have known no man, drew me from out of my hiding-place. Even when the Turanians and the Naotaras with their swift horses banished me, then did I hide myself under the throat of a ram, whose flock is an hundred sheep; but the youths of tender age and the maidens who have known no man,

drew me from out of my hiding-place.”¹ The German scholar Dr. Reichelt, drawing our attention to this beautiful and allegorical description of the fight between the Naotaras, *i.e.*, the Kayanians and the Turanians, says :— “The continual warfare between the Turanians and the Naotaras drives wealth from the land. The goddess of wealth therefore flees to the bull and the ram, who symbolize the source of all wealth, to people in a low state of civilisation. But the people who are compared to inexperienced youths and maidens, do not understand the meaning of her flight, that wealth is to be found in the peaceful pursuit of cattle-breeding, and drew her from her hiding-place by taking delight in continual warfare.”¹

I have tried to explain all the Turanian names occurring in the Avesta and to show that the Turanians are counted as Aryans everywhere with this difference that the Turanians were lower in the grade of civilisation than the Iranians, and they did not give any attention to welfare and agriculture. Even in the later periods, they are found persistently clinging to the habits and customs peculiar to the nomads. They had no liking for industry and activity preached by Zarathustra. According to very old traditions, we have seen that the Iranians and the Turanians are descended from the same stock and the genealogy of kings of the Turanian dynasty is traceable to the Pêsdâdian king, Faridun. Besides this, the names of all the Turanian heroes which occur in the Avesta, the Shâh-nâma and other books of history are Aryan and their etymological meanings can be understood ; hence there is no doubt that the persons known by those names were Aryans. The reports of the classical historians of Greece and Rome,

1 See the “Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume,” p. 398.

relating to the different Scythian and Saka tribes, who were Turanian, and all their customs and habits, are proofs of their having been Aryan. In the later writings such as the *Shâh-nâma* and other historical books and the Pahlavi books of the mediæval period, which are based on the traditions existing in the Sasanian times, the Turanians, the Turks and the Chinese are all mentioned as one without any distinction. Nêryôsang, the famous Parsi Dastur of Sanjan of the twelfth century A.C., in his Sanskrit commentary of the Avesta, translates 'Tûra' as 'Turushka,' which probably means the Turks. All the religious books and national epics, in which the Turanians are mentioned, speak of a period when the Turk and the Mongol races had not reached the Turanian soil. How can we solve this enigma? The late Professor Marquart, one of the greatest orientalists, a specialist in geography and ancient Persian history and an eminent authority writes: "There are many evidences in our hands that from old time the Iranians were leading a settled town-life and were industrious and agriculturists." The Gâthâs of Zarathustra, which are the oldest written documents of the Iranians, supply the best evidence of this statement. In contrast with their neighbours and correlatives, they had a special inclination towards agriculture and settled habitation. Owing to this reason, their pomp and dignity increased and they were envied by the Turanians. The Turanian wandering nomads often attacked the Iranian land and took away their goods. Iranian civilisation gradually attained to such a height that the plundering Turanian tribes were considered foreign and the Iranians were ashamed to consider them their kith and kin and to recognise them with their own honored name as Aryan. They were then stamped out and excommunicated and began to be called

'Anaryan,' i.e., "non-Iranian" or "foreign." The penetration of these foreign tribes in Tûrân took place somewhere between 126 to 140 B.C. The fall of Balkh and Sogdiana at the hands of these foreigners, the dispersion of the Iranians to the country sides and their subordination to the foreigners, removed all the racial distinctions. From very old times, the Iranians used to call their neighbours to the west as Turânians and considered them their enemies. Even later, any plundering savage tribe which came to Tûrân and pillaged and laid waste was known as Turanian whether it really belonged to the Turanian race or not. When the land in the vicinity of the Jaxartes and the Oxus was devastated by the Mongols in the first century before Christ, the recollection of the old plunder and pillage, which they had experienced in the past at the hands of the Turanians, came to the minds of the Iranians. The emigrant tribes, which came to this land from time to time and carried on the work of marauding and murder, were named Turanian by the Iranians, whether they were Aryan, Mongol, Hephthalite, Turk or Tartar.

Just as the Greeks used the term 'barbaros' for all those who were not Greek, the Iranians used the word 'Tûra', for all the non-Iranians. Whenever there is a mention of the fight between Irân and Tûrân, one and the same man is at one time called Turanian, at another time Turk, at another Chinese and Payghu. That is, all these words were used synonymously.

As a result of this confusion of terms, the Ottoman Turks who are of Mongolian origin, consider themselves to be Turanians and think that Tûrân is their original home. It is probable that behind this word there is some political meaning, i.e., Pan-Turkism. Before the Great War, Turkey thought of the rise of Pan-Islamism.

We are seeing the result of their past thoughts; the fruit of their present attitude, we will see in the future.

As the word 'Tûra' has a faint resemblance with the word 'Turk,' as one part of the province of eastern Irân including the Turanian soil was specially called Russian Turkestan in the later times, and as the reports of all the old writers, were confusing, all these three reasons together tempted the Turks to consider themselves of Turanian origin. A group of the present day Turkish leaders and writers, owing to their unfounded enthusiasm for Tûrân, have created this idea amongst their compatriots. One of these, Zia-Guk-Alp, has said: "O children of Okuz Khan! do not ever forget the country whose name is Tûrân." In another verse he has said: "The fatherland of the Turks is not Turkey or Turkestan, but it is the great eternal land of Tûrân." According to the opinion of such Turkish writers, who claim that the Turks are the descendants of the Turanians, it is a point of great virtue for their race to be related to the Turanians. The following is the résumé of the book named "Aryan and Turanian," written by a Turkish author:

"All the Indo-European people are a branch of the Turks. They migrated to other countries from Central Asia which was the soil of the Turkish race. The Semitic people also belonged to the same race. It is totally false to believe that the Aryan and the Turk are two different races. The whole world is indebted to the Turanian race for its civilisation. The Aryan people have also a right to be the proud participators in this honour; because, looking to their race and language, the Aryans belong to the Turanian people. The tribe 'Ar' is a Turkish tribe. Every one of the Turanian tribes has a right to be the creator of the civilisation of mankind. Nobody has the right to say that this honour

belongs to him alone. This civilisation started in Siberia and spread from thence over all the countries of Europe and Asia. In other words, this civilisation came from the people of Siberia, *i.e.*, the Turanians. It is the same civilization which reached India, China, Babylon, Egypt and the shores of the Mediterranean."

As the fundamental idea of this author is groundless, all the arguments advanced in this lengthy book of 546 pages, are not worthy of credence. I do not know what the author means by 'Ar' in the Turkish language. I remember what I have read in a work of the German Professor Littmann, whilst speaking of the household etymology of people of this category. He says: "In 1900 A.D., in Hama, a town in Syria, I met a Turkish officer who was of Arab origin. He wanted to prove to me that the German and the Arabic languages were the same. Perchance he knew that an egg is called in German 'Ei.' Now in order to prove his opinion he gave me this example that 'Ei' in Arabic language is a word for the pain one feels; and a hen at the time of laying an egg feels pain. For this reason, in the German language this is an adopted Arabic word for an egg."

THE AGE OF ZARATHUSTRA

The subject of my lecture to-day is the Age of Zarathustra, founder of the Iranian religion, the great spiritual leader and priest. When we will be able to fix the age of Zarathustra, we shall be able to indicate the beginning of the Iranian culture. It is in the fitness of things that Reverend Father Heras, who belongs to a priestly and spiritual Order and further more is a good historian, should preside to-day. When I was a student in Beyrout twenty-four years ago I came into contact with the Jesuit Fathers, and since then I have been an admirer of the great devotion and sacrifice these learned people have given for centuries to the cause of culture. I have seen with my own eyes how advancement in learning was made in Syria, through the efforts of this devoted Order, and probably Syria is the most advanced in learning in the whole orient. You all know very well how the learned members of this Order have rendered service to India in the field of education and scholarship. I had the pleasure of meeting Reverend Father Heras at Baroda at the Seventh Oriental Conference and there I came to know that he hailed from Spain. I will take this opportunity to bring to your notice what Sir Percy Sykes has written in his 'History of Persia' about the resemblance of Persia to Spain¹:

"In many ways Persia resembles Spain to a remarkable degree. The traveller from the north no sooner quits France than he rises through the Pyrenees on to a plateau of an average height of between two and three thousand feet, where the jagged ranges are aptly termed Sierras or 'Saws,' and where the country is generally bare

1 See Sir Percy Sykes' 'History of Persia,' 1930, pp. 7-8.

and treeless. Traversing this great plateau for some four hundred miles, he crosses the 'hot country' of Andalusia, which corresponds to the low-lying coast district of Persia, before the sea is reached. Again to the north, as if to complete the analogy, the provinces bordering on the Biscayan Sea differ from the Spain of the plateau as the Caspian provinces do from the rest of Persia. Moreover, although Persians are termed the French of the East, it would be more apt to compare them with the Spaniards, whose customs and whole manner of life are akin to the Persian."

There is a great difference of opinion amongst the Greek and Roman classical writers and the later Iranian traditional books, as regards the age of the holy Spitama Zarathustra. According to the traditional date, which has come to us through Pahlavi books, Zarathustra lived in the second half of the seventh century and the beginning of the sixth century before Christ. But the classical Greek and Roman writers have assigned a very remote date to the founder of the Iranian religion.

Whilst commencing with our observations, let us note that the old historians mention the date of Zarathustra in the course of their discourses on the religion of the Magi. We do not propose to speak here about all that has been written by these writers on the Magi; we will restrict ourselves only to what they have written as regards the age of Zarathustra. In order, however, to make matters clear, I will speak here in brief about the Magi, reserving the details to some other occasion.

از آن بدیر مغانم عزیز میدارند
که آتشی که نمیرد همیشه در دل ماست حافظ

"For this reason the people in the tavern of the Magi love me, because an indestructible fire is eternally in my heart."

HAFIZ

According to the classical writers, the 'Magos' or 'Magoi' was the priest of the Zoroastrian religion. This word became 'Magi' in all the European languages. Some of these authoritative writers distinguish between the Iranian and the Chaldæan Magi. The Iranian Magi had the knowledge of the philosophy and the religious teachings of Zarathustra, whilst the Chaldæan Magi knew sorcery, witchcraft and amulets besides religion. We know that sorcery and witchcraft are severely condemned in the Avesta.

As the Chaldæans, too, have been called the 'Magi,' some orientalist think the word must originally have been Assyrian and Babylonian. But there is no doubt today that this word is of Iranian origin and it passed from Irân to the Assyrian and the Babylonian soils. We must remember that Babylon was conquered by the Achæmenian king Cyrus the Great, in 539 B. C. From this time the Zoroastrian religion penetrated into this country and extended to the eastern countries. It does not, therefore, seem strange that the foreign writers called the Zoroastrian as well as the Chaldæan priests by this name. These foreign writers confounded these two distinct groups of priests with each other. We find the word 'moghu' (𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀) once in the Avesta, in the compound word 'Moghu-thish'. Other words derived from the same root are often found in the Gâthâs. Amongst these the word 'maga' (𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀) occurs in Yasna 29, 11; 46, 14; 51, 11 and 16; 53, 7. The European commentators of the Avesta have assigned different meanings to this word. If we equate this word with the Sanskrit 'magha' (मघ), which means "wealth," "reward," "gift," it will be nearer its real meaning.

The function of the Iranian Magi was to perform religious ceremonies. Ammianus Marcellinus, the Roman

historian of the fourth century after Christ, speaks at length about the Persian Magi. From the time of Zarathustra till then the Magi were the servants of the religion.

In Plato's 'Alcibiades' it is said that the crown prince was instructed by the Magi.

Cicero, the famous Roman orator, who lived in the first century before Christ (106-43 B.C.), wrote: "By the Iranians the Magi were considered wise and learned people. Nobody was able to ascend to kingship before acquiring the Magian doctrine."

Jurisdiction and justice also were in the hands of the Magi. In a Chinese book of history, written in 572 A. C., called 'Wei-shu', "the history of the dynasty of Wei," whilst speaking of the events which happened between 386 to 535 A.C., mention is made, in Chapter 102, of the 'Possi,' *i.e.*, the Persians of the Sasanian times. Amongst them the writer refers to the 'Mo-hu,' which is the Chinese for 'Mogu.' These Magi were great officials holding jurisdiction and justice in their hands.

In our own records these functions are assigned to them. The Shâh-nâma often assigns to the mubads or the Magi the functions of writing, predicting, astronomy, admonition and the interpretation of dreams. They used to be the counsellors of kings.

We come across the word 'magu' in the inscriptions of Darius the Great. Gaumâta who assumed the name of Bardiya (Smerdis), brother of Kambujiya (Cambyzes), son of Kuru (Cyrus), and usurping the throne of the Achæmenians proclaimed himself king, was a 'magu.'

We find the word 'Rab-mag' in one of the books of the holy Bible, Jeremiah, Ch. 39, 3, in the description of the army of Nebuchadnezzar (606-561 B.C.) marching against Jerusalem. Amongst the nobles, courtiers and

generals, 'Rab-mag,' "the chief of the Magi", had also accompanied the Babylonian king. St. Matthew, Ch. 2, has preserved the story of the three "wise men from the east" or the three kings who, having seen his star in the east, had come to Jerusalem to worship Jesus and were directed to Bethlehem. The word rendered 'wise men' is originally 'magi' or 'magians' (μάγοι), a title which first belonged to the priests, who were also the learned men of Persia.

In the Qurân (Şûrat-ul-Haja, 17), the word 'majûs' is used only once. This word came from the Aramaic into the Arabic language in this form. It is commonly used in Arabic for all the Zoroastrians. The Avestan 'moghu', the Old Persian 'magu', Pahlavi 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 'maguy' and Persian 'mogh', 'mobad' is the name given to the Zoroastrian priests, from the oldest time till to-day.

Herodotus has made of these Magi one separate tribe, but it does not seem to be correct. He also speaks of five more Iranian tribes along with that of the Magi, none of which can be identified to-day. We know that amongst the Zoroastrians from the oldest time till to-day priesthood ranks as a separate hereditary class. Consequently, the old Magi just like the present, were descended from one particular family amongst whom priestcraft had come down from generation to generation. It is well known that the Jews had the same system and all their priests were chosen from the family of the Levites, which according to tradition arose from Aaron, brother of Moses, the prophet of the Israelites. All the classical writers unanimously declare Zoroaster to have been the founder of the teachings of the Magi, in other words, he introduced the Mazdean religion. According to the Greek philosopher Porphyrius (233-304 A.C.), 'Magos,' in the original language, was

one who knew theology and praised God. Another Greek philosopher Dio Chrysostomus, who flourished in the first century A.C., has said that the Magi were distinguished for their truthfulness and were recognised as worthy of offering praise to God and of performing ceremonies in His name; but the common people, in their ignorance, gave this name to the sorcerers. He has further stated that after Zarathustra had conferred with the Godhead on the mountain of flame and obtained His interview, he did not meet all the people, but only mixed with those in whose nature there was the love of truth, who were sensible and could properly understand the Godhead. Such people were named the Magi. Before Dio Chrysostomus, Nikolaus of Damascus, who lived in the last century before Christ and was a contemporary of Herod the Great, had said that Cyrus, founder of the Achæmenian dynasty, was instructed by the Magi in Justice and Truth.

Plato, the Greek philosopher of great renown, (428-348 B.C.), and many other great men of the past who have made mention of Zarathustra, have considered him to have been the author of the Magian philosophy and the first Magian. Other writers have believed the Magi to have been the followers of Zarathustra. All the statements of the classical writers relating to the Magi are very interesting and important for the history of other religions. It is easy to understand to what extent the Greek philosophers were familiar with this philosophy of the religion of Zarathustra, from the fame and influence it had in the past, and how far it had influenced the Jewish and Christian religions later on. As I do not intend, to-day, to speak at length on the Magi, I will stop here, after noting that the whole Neo-Platonic philosophy had been influenced by the so-called Magian teachings.

After giving this brief account of the Magi, I will pass on to the writers who have treated the question of the age of Zarathustra. I will begin with the oldest writers and then take up the later ones, whose informations are based on the writings of their predecessors.

XANTHUS

Xanthus (465-425 B. C.), the oldest Greek historian, had mentioned the name of Zarathustra and indicated his age. Besides belonging to the age of antiquity, he was from Asia Minor, and therefore, his reports are worthy of credence. He was from Sardis, the capital of Lydia, which the Persian king, Cyrus the Great, conquered in the year 547 or 546 B.C. Xanthus was living in the fifth century before Christ, flourished a little before Herodotus and was a contemporary of Xerxes (485-464 B.C.), the fourth king of the Achæmenian dynasty. In his time, Lydia was under the domination of the Achæmenian kings and was a settlement of the Iranian emigrants. Strabo and Pausanias, the Greek geographers of the last century before and the second century after Christ, were both of Asia Minor and have spoken about the Fire-temples of that place and its neighbourhood. Xanthus must have been well acquainted with the Magi and must have heard from them the traditions and teachings of Zarathustra. As he had travelled much, particularly in Asia Minor upto the lake Urumia, in the north-western Irân, he must have known the facts of history. We can, therefore, rely on the history to be found in the remaining fragments of his work. No doubt, the history of his own country and the reports about the Magi were very precious ; unfortunately they are lost to-day. It seems that Herodotus had prepared from Xanthus that part of his history relating to the religion of Irân. Another Greek historian, Nikolaus of Damascus,

who flourished in the last century before Christ, had inserted, in his history of the world, some reports belonging to the religion of Irân from Xanthus. So also, the Greek writer, Diogenes Laertius, (150 A.C.), had taken the following report from Xanthus: "Zarathustra lived 600 years before the expedition of Xerxes to Greece." As we know, the army of Xerxes gathered in Sardis and marched on Greece in the spring of the year 480 B.C. Consequently, Xanthus has indicated the age of Zarathustra to have been 1080 B.C.

It should be noted here that in the best manuscript of Diogenes Laertius, the figure of years is 600. We find the figure 6000, only in two other manuscripts of lesser value. Besides, there are other historical documents, which prove that the figure 600 is correct. The criticisms made on the two manuscripts mentioned above prove that the figure 6000 is without foundation. If the figure 6000 of these two manuscript writers be correct, we can be sure that they gave it in order to be in agreement with the other Greek writers, whom we will refer to later on.

CTESIAS

Next to Xanthus, it is Ctesias who speaks of Zarathustra. Ctesias was the physician of Artaxerxes II (405-362 B.C.) and lived in the Iranian court for seventeen years (416-399 B.C.). His history of the events of this period and the past is very interesting, because, as he himself says, his sources of information were the official documents in the royal archives of Irân. His books were popular till the twelfth century A.C. and are lost like many other Greek documents. Before they were lost, Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople (857-867 and 871-886 A.C.) and a learned man of his time had taken notes from these books and they are existing to-day.

He had a good habit of taking down summaries of the books which he read. Amongst these summaries, there is one of Ctesias's 'Persica.' He writes :— "The work of Ctesias of Cnidus is in twenty-three books. The first six books record the history of Assyria and of old Irân. In books 7, 8, (9), 10, 11, 12 and 13 he speaks of Cyrus, Camby-ses, the Magian Gaumata, Darius and Xerxes. Almost all his statements contradict the writings of Herodotus. In many places, he has called Herodotus a liar and a tale-teller. He had seen with his own eyes all that he wrote and when it was not possible, he had heard directly from the Iranians. Thus he had written his history from such sources. He has not only contradicted Herodotus, he has often differed from Xenophon, son of Gryllus. He lived in the time of Cyrus, son of Darius II, and Parysatis and his brother Artaxerxes II, who had come to the throne of Irân."

Diodorus Seculus has also cited from the writings of Ctesias and said:—"Ctesias was from the city of Cnidus. At the time of the expedition of Cyrus the junior against his brother Artaxerxes II, he was a prisoner in the hands of the Iranians. As he was a physician, he gave his services to the king and received bounty from him for seventeen years. He himself says that the contents of his books are taken from the royal parchments. All the customs and events from the oldest times, are collected in these royal parchments. From such sources, he had gathered information for his history, which was written in Greek."

As we know, 13,000 Greek mercenary soldiers were employed in the army of Cyrus the junior at the time of his expedition against Artaxerxes II, in 401 B.C., to capture the throne of Irân. According to Diodorus, Ctesias must have been one of these Greek soldiers, who were afterwards taken prisoners by the Iranians.

We learn of Ctesias's sojourn for seventeen years in the court of Irân from Diodorus; but looking to the 'Persica', his sojourn must have lasted at least from 401-398 B.C.

Diodorus, citing Ctesias, says that Zarathustra was the king of Bactria and an adversary and contemporary of Ninus, king of Assyria, and his wife Semiramis. After conquering Babylon and Armenia, Ninus desired to conquer Media. King Pharoons of Media came up with a huge army against his adversary. Within a short time his army was scattered, he himself, his wife and seven children were taken as captives, and at the order of Ninus, king of Assyria, the Median king was hanged on the gallows. This victory made Ninus ambitious to conquer the whole world, from the river Don to the river Nile. He appointed one of his friends governor of Media and he himself went to conquer other countries. He gradually conquered the whole of Asia, except India and Bactria, in seventeen years. Egypt, Syria, Phoenicia and all the countries of Asia Minor came under his sway. He defeated the people of Gilân and Tabristân, the settlers on the shore of the Caspian Sea, the Parthians, the Georgians, the Chorasmians, the Kermanis and the Sistânis. Pars and Susa too came under his suzerainty. The dominion of Assyria extended upto the pass of the Caucasus. Many other tribes were desolated. The efforts of Ninus to conquer Bactria were not crowned with success. The difficult roads of this country and its brave, hardy soldiers disappointed him and he had to retreat from this action for a while, and he diverted his army to Syria. Having found a suitable place here, he founded a large city named Niniveh. After it was completed, he again directed his attention to Bactria, and gathered a huge army from all the countries under his sway. From his past experience of the rough roads and brave Iranian soldiers he collected a gigantic army, this time, consisting of 1,700,000 foot-soldiers, 210,000.

horsemen and 10,600 armed-cars, and advanced towards Bactria. Of the large towns of Bactria, Balkh, the capital city, was specially famous for its greatness and fortifications. Oxyartes, king of Bactria, called all the young men of his country, collected 400,000 fighters and obstructed the advance of the enemy's army. After a severe fight the Assyrians took to flight and the Bactrians followed them and killed 100,000, but, as they could not offer any further resistance against the huge Assyrian army, they retreated with the thought of protecting their houses and families. The country of Bactria gradually fell into the hands of the Assyrians, but its capital gave great resistance, owing to its strong fortifications, towers and weapons of war. The Assyrians laid siege to the city. During the long protracted siege a man desired to see his wife and sent a messenger to her. This heroic, fair and intelligent woman was named Semiramis. For her journey from Assyria to Bactria, she prepared and put on a dress whereby no one could detect her sex. This dress protected her from the sun, and was so comfortable and attractive that first the Medians adopted it at the time of conquering Asia and thereafter the Iranians. When Semiramis came to Balkh, she examined the situation of the siege and found out on what side the fortifications were vulnerable and where the defence of the soldiers was weak. She came up with her soldiers to the weak side of the city and gave them a signal for assault. The guards of the fort were taken by surprise and overcome and the city fell in the hands of the Assyrians. Ninus eulogized the bravery and skill of Semiramis and gave her precious presents. She was so good-looking that he fell in love with her, asked her husband Memoncs to give her away to him, promising to give him his daughter Losane to wife. The husband did not agree to this. The king threatened to take out his eyes, if

he did not yield to his wishes. The helpless husband hanged himself owing to fear and grief and Ninus married Semiramis. The rich treasures belonging to the royal house of Balkh came into the hands of Ninus. Semiramis bore a son, who was named Ninyas. After a short time Ninus died and as his son was young, the queen Semiramis came to the throne.

It is possible that Ctesias must have heard in Irân this episode of Ninus and Semiramis, as narrated by him. This episode, though originally Semitic, still reminds us of the war stories of the Shâh-nâma. As we have seen, as Diodorus had taken his information from Ctesias, he mentioned Oxyartes as the king of Balkh. But there is no doubt that this king was named Zoroaster in the book of Ctesias; because, in the books of a group of historians who have depended on Ctesias, this king is named Zoroaster and not Oxyartes. The Greek historian Kephalion, who flourished in the first half of the second century after Christ, has expressly stated that Ctesias was his source of information and according to him the name of the king was Zoroaster. Bishop Eusebius, born about 264 A.C., in Kaesariya in Palestine and died in 340 A.C., has copied Kephalion's statement in his book which is preserved to-day. The same statement is recorded by Georgios Synkellos (775-800 A.C.). The Roman historian Justinus (12 A.C.), has spoken at length about the Assyrian king Ninus, his wife Semiramis and his son Ninyas. According to him, Ninus, after the subjugation of Asia, had his last war with Zoroaster, the king of Balkh. It is said that Zoroaster had introduced the Magian faith and discoursed on the origins of the Universe and the movements of the stars. Zoroaster was killed in this war and Ninus also died after him. All the writers who have described the story of Ninus and of his expedition to

Balkh, have mentioned Zoroaster as his adversary. Amongst these were the Greek rhetorician, Theon, who lived in 125 A.C., Arnobius, the Roman rhetorician (295 A.C.), Augustinus, the Roman priest (born 30th November 345 and died 28th August 430 A.C.), the Armenian historian, Moses Xorone'i (407-492 A.C.), the Spanish writer, Orosius, who wrote about 417 A.C., the Spanish bishop, Isidorus (about 560-636 A.C.) and others. According to all these writers, whose source is Ctesias, there is no doubt, that Ctesias had given the name Zoroaster to the king of Balkh. Some orientalists have held that this Zoroaster is not the same as the prophet Zarathustra, as he is called the king of Balkh. But there is no doubt that in the mind of Ctesias and all the other writers mentioned above this king Zoroaster was the same as the prophet Zarathustra. Of these historians, some have taken Ninus and others have taken Semiramis as the adversary of Zarathustra. Of these Eusebius and Georgios specially mention Zarathustra as a Magian and the king of Balkh. Orosius, like Justinus, has written that Ninus had conquered Balkh and killed the Magian Zarathustra in the war. Moses Xorone'i has also recognised this Zoroaster as a Magian and says: "When Semiramis passed the summer time in Armenia, she appointed Zoroaster, the Magian prince of Media, as governor of Assyria and Niniveh; afterwards they became inimical to each other. Semiramis, being afraid of Zoroaster, took to flight. Ninyas captured his mother in Armenia, killed her and usurped the crown and the throne of Assyria."

Contrary to other writers, Diodorus has inserted the name of Oxyartes in place of Zoroaster. It is a mistake which it was not difficult to commit. In some manuscripts, the name is written 'Exaortes'. In two manuscripts we find 'Zaortes'. This last name is very near the name

of the prophet of Irân, whom the Greek writers have ordinarily named 'Zoroastres'. The name 'Oxyartes' is repeatedly found in the book of Diodorus, in other places and in other contexts. This is one of the famous Iranian names. We often come across personages of this name in history, specially in the history of Balkh.

'Oxyartes' or 'Oxathres' is the Greek form of the Avestan and Old Persian 'Hu-khshathra' = "good ruler". In the Achæmenian period, there were many renowned persons of this name. Amongst them are, the son of Darius II, the brother of Darius III, a general of Darius III, and others. The Iranian lady whom Alexander married after his conquest of Balkh, was named by the Greeks Roxane, daughter of Oxyartes. Roxane is the Greek form of the Avestan 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬌𐬀, 'Raokhshna' = Persian روشن = 'Rosan', meaning "light." It is not at all strange, therefore, that in the book of Diodorus, in the history relating to Bactria, 'Oxyartes' is written instead of 'Zoroaster.' Surely, this name was taken from the history of Alexander, long after the time of Ctesias.

According to Ctesias, Zarathustra must have lived in the second half of the thirteenth century before Christ. The capture of Balkh at the hands of Ninus took place 1200 B.C. Ctesias has not fixed upon, for the age of Zarathustra, any time that we cannot accept. His date differs only by one hundred years from that given by Xanthus, and these two statements involuntarily draw our attention to the same period for the age of the prophet. This information of Ctesias, full of minute descriptions, is worthy of consideration. If Ninus, the legendary king of Assyria, was the same as Nimrod, the contemporary of Abraham, then we are forced to go to other legends farther away from real history.

In his list of Assyrian kings, Al-Biruni mentions Ninus and says that he ruled sixty-two years, built the city of Niniveh and that in the forty-third year of his reign Abraham was born. Eusebius, whom we have quoted above, has said that Ninus had ruled for fifty-two years. Semiramis, wife of Ninus, is called Asm'aram by Al-Biruni. She was the founder of the town Samereh and reigned forty-two years. Ninyas, son of Ninus, is named Zamis by Al-Biruni. He ruled for thirty-eight years. On account of Ninyas' fury and anger, Abraham went to Palestine from Babylon. According to Al-Biruni, Abraham fled to Palestine when he was seventy-two years old. The same age is mentioned in the Old Testament too. In the list of Al-Biruni mentioned above, Ninus is, no doubt, the same as Nimrod who, as stated in the Old Testament, is the contemporary of Abraham. As this episode of Nimrod and Abraham is mentioned in detail in all the books of history, we need not discuss this subject at length. Clement, who wrote between 350 to 400 A.C., has said that Nimrod was the same person whom the Greeks have named Ninus.

According to the Old Testament, Abraham, the contemporary of Nimrod, must have flourished 1900 B.C. According to Ctesias, however, Ninus, the contemporary of Zarathustra, lived 1200 B.C. Orosius, above referred to, has fixed the time of Ninus 1300 years before the foundation of the city of Rome. According to popular tradition, the city of Rome was founded in 753 or 750 B.C. Consequently, Ninus must have lived 2053 B.C.

Secondly, Semiramis, the contemporary of Zarathustra, was more famous in Babylonian history than her husband Ninus. We do not come across a woman of this name in Babylonian and Assyrian history except

Sammuramat who lived long after Ninus. According to one class of scholars, the same Sammuramat is the lady who received legendary fame and was taken to be the wife of Ninus and described as a mighty and world-conquering queen. Sammuramat was really the wife of the Assyrian king Rammanirari III who ruled from 811 to 783 B.C. This lady must certainly have occupied a high position in the political affairs of her country as her name has been mentioned with particular importance together with that of her husband in an inscription. In any case, the story of Ninus and his wife Semiramis or the tale of Nimrod and his contemporary Abraham, wherever they are found, are not such as to enable us to obtain actual facts of history and draw any conclusion fixing the age of Zarathustra who, according to Ctesias, was the adversary of Ninus. Furthermore, all the events of history which have come down to us from Ctesias are written in the way of miracles. This physician who, as he has said, was a confidant of the king of Irân and had held high political position as an emissary, is not known for truthfulness. Most of his statements are known to be incorrect and far from the truth. Although he has repeatedly called Herodotus and Xenophon liars, we do not know how far he himself was truthful and correct, whether he has faithfully copied the Iranian royal parchments. Ctesias has given special importance to the events of the royal court of Irân and to the intrigues of the ladies of the family of Artaxerxes II. We must take these statements with caution and attach little historical value to them. In spite of all this it is to be regretted that the books of Ctesias are lost and only a few fragments are extant in the books of later writers. As he had lived in Irân for a period especially in the court, it can be said that he had heard a part of the old traditions and made notes of

them. His statements relating to Zarathustra are worthy of attention for several reasons. Firstly, as we have said, he has not assigned to Zarathustra an age which we cannot accept. Secondly, he has considered Zarathustra to have belonged to Balkh. In the Zoroastrian tradition this part of Irân, *i.e.*, the East, is considered to have been the native place of Zarathustra; whilst according to another tradition, the West, *i.e.*, Āzarbâijân, is the native land of the prophet. Thirdly, he has declared the existence of a kingdom in Balkh, which is not at all against the facts of history. There is no doubt that before the establishment of the Median kingdom in the West of Irân, there existed a kingdom of more or less importance in the East. The Gâthâs, the holy hymns of the prophet Zarathustra, prove the existence of such a kingdom in the East. It is also well-known in the traditions that Zarathustra had taken refuge in the court of Gustâsp, king of Balkh, and had preached his religion to him. In the very Gâthâ hymns the prophet has called him his friend and supporter. Fourthly, from the statement of Ctesias, it comes out that in the beginning of the fourth century before Christ when he wrote his work, the tradition as to Zarathustra having flourished seven centuries before Christ had not come into being. Lastly, the writers who have copied from Ctesias, have mentioned the death of Zarathustra in the battle of Ninus in Balkh. This reminds us of another old Iranian tradition about the martyrdom of Zarathustra in Balkh, in the war of the Turanian king Arjâsp against Kaô Gustâsp.

PLATO

Next to Ctesias, the disciples of Plato are the oldest writers who have mentioned the age of Zarathustra. Plato, the renowned philosopher of Greece, (427-347 B.C.),

had known Zarathustra to have been the founder of the Magian faith. This faith, according to his opinion, was the best way of praising the Creator and contained high thinking. Many views of Plato's philosophy are in accord with the teachings of the Zoroastrian religion. It is clearly evident that this Greek philosopher was well-versed in the Mazdayasnān philosophy. In the notes and comments which are written in 'Alkibiades,' a book supposed to have been written by Plato, Zarathustra is supposed to have flourished 6000 years before the death of Plato. In all the statements which have come down to us from the disciples of Plato, the age of Zarathustra is assigned to an epoch which historical criticism cannot reach. These disciples of Plato are: 1) Aristotle, the famous Greek philosopher of Macedonia and friend and preceptor of Alexander the Great (384-322 B.C.), 2) Eudoxus of Cnidus, of the same city as Ctesias and 3) Hermodoros, contemporary of the two mentioned above.

The statements of these philosophers are preserved in the books of other writers. We will consider Pliny at the top of all. Pliny the Roman, called Pliny the Elder by way of distinction, was born in 23 B.C. and perished in 79 A.C. at the time of the volcanic eruption of Mount Vesuvius. His great work, 'Naturalis Historia,' consisting of thirty-seven parts, is extant to-day. This encyclopædic work treats of geography, ethnology, anthropology, zoology, botany, medicines of all kinds extracted from herbs and animals, mineralogy, etc. Irān is often mentioned therein. In the twenty-ninth part of this book there are references to medicines extracted from herbs and animals and some of these are attributed to the Magi. In this connection, Pliny speaks of the Magi and Zarathustra, the founder of their faith, in the thirtieth part of his book. In his writings, Pliny distinguishes between the Iranian Magi, the fol-

lowers of the tenets of Zarathustra, and the Chaldæan Magi, bearing the same name, noted for sorcery and witchcraft, and says that Eudoxus and Aristotle had thought that Zarathustra, the founder of the Magian faith, which is the noblest and the most beneficial of philosophies, lived 6000 years before the death of Plato. He further says that according to Hermippus, Zarathustra lived 5000 years before the Trojan war. Looking to these two reports, Pliny adds that Moses lived some thousands of years after Zarathustra. At the end of this argument, Pliny refers to a Magian named Ostanès, who was with Xerxes at the time of his expedition to Greece, and states that another person named Zarathustra was living a little before Ostanès. Pliny does not mention his authority for this last statement. In view of the fact that Xerxes' expedition to Greece was led in 480 B.C. and the traditional date of the martyrdom of Zarathustra is 583 B.C., there being thus an interval of 103 years between these two events, we can say that there is some connection between the last information of Pliny and the traditional date of Zarathustra. Consequently, the tradition of the Zarathustrians, as regards the age of Zarathustra, was existing in the time of Pliny, *i.e.*, in the first century A.C. The information which Pliny has taken from Hermippus that Zarathustra lived 5000 years before the Trojan war, must have been borrowed from older sources, from Hermodorus, the third disciple of Plato. Hermippus was one of the greatest philosophers of Greece and an inhabitant of the city of Smyrna. He lived in 250 B.C. and had a book on the Magi, which is unfortunately missing. Aristotle and Eudoxus were his authorities. His information relating to the age of Zarathustra must have been taken from Hermodorus who lived in the fourth century before Christ, because Diogenes Laertius who lived in 210 A.C. and whom we have referred to above, has borrowed the information.

from the same Hermodorus and declared that Zarathustra lived 5000 years before the Trojan war. The Greek historian and writer, Plutarch (46-125 A.C.) too, has expressed the same opinion.

“If Zarathustra lived 6000 years before the death of Plato, the age of Zarathustra comes to be somewhere near 6347 B.C.; if he lived 5000 years before the Trojan war, the date of Zarathustra must be somewhere near 6184 B.C., as it is generally known that the fall of Troy at the hands of the Greeks took place in 1184 B.C. We observe that the difference between these two dates is 163 years only. This difference is not much, looking to these extraordinary dates, and we can say that the source of these two informations was the same. It is evident that the statements of these philosophers, relating to the age of Zarathustra, have little historical value. It is certain that there existed no documentary evidence, giving such a remote age, which the writers had access to. They only knew this much that Zarathustra lived in a very old epoch, and the death of their teacher Plato took place 6000 years after Zarathustra. They did not pay any attention to the facts having a real historical basis.”

Although they are great and learned philosophers and the informations which are transcribed by later Greek and Roman writers from their works prove their sound knowledge of the Mazdayasnàn tenets, we cannot come to any other conclusion but this from their statements relating to the age of the founder of this religion that the authentic date was not existing in their time and in the fourth century before Christ the date of the age of the prophet was much further back than 700 B.C., the later traditional date of Zarathustra.

However, it is possible that these Greek philosophers

had not invented this very remote date of Zarathustra but as Prof. Williams Jackson says: "Such extraordinary figures, however, are presumably due to the Greeks having misunderstood the statements of the Persians, who place Zoroaster's millennium amid a great world-period of 12,000 years, which they divided into cycles of 3000 years, and in accordance with which belief Zoroaster's Fravashi, guardian spirit, had in fact existed several thousands of years." ('Zoroaster,' p. 152.)

BEROSUS

Next in order to the writings of the disciples of Plato, are the statements which the classical writers have taken from Berosus, wherein Zarathustra and his age are mentioned. Berosus, the well-known high-priest and historian of Babylon, lived in the third century before Christ. His Babylonian and Assyrian histories, which the classical writers have named 'Chaldaika' or 'Babyloniaka', were written in the reign of Antiochus Soter (280-261 B.C.). As Berosus was the high-priest of the Temple of Bel, the great God of Babylon, he had access to the library of the Temple and had very old documents in his hands. Unfortunately this book is lost and only a few fragments of it are preserved in the works of later writers. Alexander Polyhistor is one of those writers who had drawn their information from Berosus. He lived in the first century before Christ. He was a Greek from the town of Milet in Asia Minor. Some fragments of Alexander Polyhistor have survived in the works of other writers. One of these is Eusebius, the renowned bishop of Palestine (260-340 A.C.). Another is Georgius Syncellus (about 775-800 A.C.).

According to Eusebius: Berosus, in his book, speaks of the beginning of creation and says that there first lived only animals on earth. Then he narrates the story

of kings. Alâros was the first king of the earth, who ruled 4,32,000 years. After him ten other kings ruled for 4,32,000 years. In the reign of the last of these kings, named Xisthrus, a deluge took place. The great God, Bel, annihilated the world. As Xisthrus was a pious king, before the deluge, he received the commandment from the heavens as to how he should construct an arch and save himself, his wife and children, relatives and animals from this disaster. The deluge of Xisthrus with all its details reminds us of the Deluge of Noah which is recorded in the Old Testament. According to the story which will be just referred to, the deluge of Xisthrus took place 35,371 years before Christ. According to the Old Testament, the Deluge of Noah took place 2500 B.C. Alâros of the Babylonian legend is in the position of Hosang, the Pésdâdian king of Irân, who was the first king, or in the position of Kayômars, who is called the first king in the Shâh-nâma. After mentioning this deluge and the renewal of prosperity in the world, Berosus passes on from the mythical period to the historical and gives the history of his fatherland. After the deluge of Xisthrus, he mentions eighty-six kings with their names, who ruled for 33,091 years in Babylon. The Medians then conquered Babylon and eight Median kings, whose names are mentioned, ruled in Babylon for 224 years. After them forty-nine Chaldæan kings became rulers and their rule lasted 458 years.

Georgius Syncellus, whose statements are based on the writings of Alexander Polyhistor, writes that the founder of this Median dynasty which conquered Babylon and ruled there was Zoroaster. I mention this Zarathustra, because he is called the founder of the Median dynasty which ruled in Babylon.

This information agrees with the historical events. In about 2300 B.C., the Elamites had crossed the moun-

tains of Media and Elam or Susa and the modern Khuzistân, and conquered Babylon. They ruled this land for a long time. From the sculptures and inscriptions of Asurbanipal, king of Assyria (668-626 B.C.), there remains no doubt that the reports of Berosus are based on historical facts. As the Elamite king Kudur Nakhundi or Kudur Nankhundi of Khuzistân (about 2300 B.C.) had conquered Babylon and among the spoils of war he had taken the statue of the goddess Nanâ, from the temple of Eana, situated in the well-known city of Uruk, the ruins of which are called Varka to-day, and brought it to Susa. Asurbanipal, in his inscriptions, says that he had brought back to Uruk the statue of Nanâ which was taken away 1635 years before him to Susa. It is known in history that Asurbanipal had led an expedition to Susa in 645 B.C., vanquished and killed Teumman, king of Susa, and plundered and ruined the country. The old kingdom of this land thus came to an end. This date—1635 years before the fall of Susa at the hands of the Assyrian king Asurbanipal,—corresponds to 2280 B.C. Consequently, Zoroaster, who, according to Berosus, was the founder of the Median, *i.e.*, the Elamite, dynasty, must have lived in 2300 B.C. The names of five kings of this dynasty—according to Berosus there were in all eight kings—have been preserved in the Assyrian inscriptions and in the Old Testament.

We need not be surprised that Berosus or those who copied his work have considered Zarathustra to be the founder of the Elamite dynasty in Babylon, just as Ctesias had considered him to be the king of Balkh; because, whilst thinking of such an important event as the conquest of Babylon by the Elamites, or according to Berosus, by the Medians, the most famous man of Media came to their mind. They could not have known any man more distinguished than Zarathustra at that

time. Berosus thought the Medians, and not the Elamites, to have been the conquerors of Babylon because after the conquest of Susa by Asurbanipal and the loss of its old independence, it came without division, under the name of Ansân, in the possession of the ancestors of the Achaemenian Cyrus the Great and was counted as one of the realms of the Median kings; this celebrated land was no more free and the whole country of Irân was named Media, just as after the downfall of the Median sovereignty and the coming of the Achaemenians from Pârs into power, the whole country of Irân was called Pârs without any distinction. The same name is applied even to-day in the European languages, as 'Persia'.

In the books of authors who have depended on Berosus, Zarathustra is known as the king of Media, just as Ctesias has called him the king of Balkh. No doubt, in both the statements, Zarathustra, the prophet of Irân, is meant, who, on account of the antiquity of his age, receives different appearances in different periods at the hands of different writers. From these statements, Zarathustra would seem to belong to an age far older than the traditional date and Media would be his native place. In the more reliable traditions, too, supported by historical and philological arguments, Zarathustra's native place was Media, *i. e.*, Irân, particularly Âzarbâijân, and his religion progressed towards the East of Irân, particularly in Bactria and spread from there to other countries.

PYTHAGORAS

Some of the old writers believed that Zarathustra was the contemporary of Pythagoras, and thus the age of Zarathustra is brought down much later than that assigned by those who wrote before Christ. About the

dates of birth and death of Pythagoras opinions differ. He was probably born in 583 B.C. in the island of Samos, and died in the same century. His period of activity coincides with the time of Cyrus, founder of the Achæmenian dynasty (559-530 B.C.), and his son and descendant Cambyses (529-522 B.C.). In the later centuries, wonders and miracles are attributed to this great philosopher and mathematician, who was the greatest of the wise men of Greece. His life and career are mixed up with legends. Just as for many great personages of old, we possess astonishing tales and stories about him. It is generally written that he received his education from the Magi. Some writers have said that he was in Egypt at the time of Cambyses' expedition against Egypt, in the spring of 525 B.C.; there he was taken prisoner and brought to Babylon with the Iranian army, where he lived with the Chaldeans and the Magi for twelve years; he was fifty-six years of age when he returned to Samós. It is certain that he was in Egypt; the reports of Herodotus and Isocrates (436-338 B.C.) prove it; but his journey to Irân is not definitely known. It does not appear strange that a man like Pythagoras, who had so much thirst for knowledge and science and was so curious about religious questions, had gone to Babylon, the centre of oriental learning, and coming into contact with the Magi had acquired a knowledge of the Iranian religion. In view of the fact that the philosophical teachings of Pythagoras are in accord with the teachings of the Zoroastrian religion in many respects, it can be said that this philosopher had learnt the Zoroastrian religion either indirectly from the books or directly from the Magi. Besides Pythagoras, many other Græek philosophers were also considered to be the disciples of the Magi. Pliny the Elder, the wise man of Rome of the first century after Christ, has written that Pythagoras, Democritus, Empedocles and Plato,

had undertaken long journeys in order to learn the Magian religion.

Democritus is the renowned philosopher of Greece who was born between 460 to 470 B.C. Empedocles is the Greek philosopher and physician, who was born in the beginning of the 5th century B.C. On account of the renown which the Zoroastrian religion had in antiquity and the currency of its philosophy among the Greek philosophers, a number of wise men of the country had acquired fame by obtaining a knowledge of the Mazdayasnân teachings.

Cicero, the renowned Roman orator, born on the 3rd January 106 B.C. and died on the 7th December 43 B.C., has described Pythagoras' journey to Egypt and his acquaintance with the Iranian Magi.

Valerius Maximus, who lived in the first century after Christ, has written that Pythagoras had gone to Irân and had acquired the teachings of the Magi. He had learnt from them the movements of the stars and the constellations and their effects on the physical phenomena. In view of the fact that the connection of Pythagoras with the Magi was well known from ancient times, the later writers, in order to add to his glory, have made him the direct disciple of Zarathustra, founder of the Magian faith. Thus Pythagoras is known by a class of writers as a disciple of Zarathustra. Amongst these writers are Plutarch (46-125 A.C.), Apuleius (born in 125 A.C.), Clemens Alexandrinus (died between 211 and 218 A.C.), Hippolytus, the Roman bishop of the third century after Christ, Porphyrius (233-304 A.C.), Kyrillos, (about 376-444 A.C.), the Scholiast on Plato's Republic, and Suidas who lived in the second half of the tenth century after Christ. Amongst these writers Apuleius has written with hesitation: "There are some who say

that Pythagoras acquired learning from the Magi, especially from Zarathustra himself." Porphyrius, the philosopher of the third century after Christ, who was born in Syria and died in Rome, writes, in his book on the History of Philosophy, on the life of Pythagoras: "Pythagoras, before all other things, admonished men to be truthful; because it is possible that man alone can be like God on account of truth; because, just as he had learnt from the Magi, God whom they named Oromazes, has a person like unto Light and a soul like unto Truth." Porphyrius also writes: "Pythagoras was in contact with the Chaldeans; he also went to Zarathustra, by his grace he absolved himself from the sins of his past life and learnt from him how his followers should conserve their purity. He learnt from him the secrets of Nature and the Eternal cause of creation."

We have said that amongst these writers, Hippolytus too believed that Zarathustra was the master of Pythagoras. This Roman bishop says that Diodorus of Eretria and Aristoxenus are the sources of his information. We cannot confide in this statement, because Aristoxenus, who lived about 318 before Christ, was a pupil of Aristotle; in the statement relating to the age of Zarathustra, derived from Plato and his disciples, one of whom was Aristotle, we have already said that all of them have mentioned the date of Zarathustra to be 6000 years before the death of Plato. It is, therefore, very strange that Aristotle's pupil, Aristoxenus, should have written that Zarathustra was a contemporary of Pythagoras. It is possible that in consideration of the resemblance between Zarathustra's teachings and Pythagoras' philosophy, he might have said that Pythagoras was conversant with the religion of the Magi and through this he might have declared a spiritual connection

rather than a personal acquaintance betwixt them. Again we do not know whether Hippolytus had obtained his information directly from Aristoxenus or had copied it from Diodorus.

From all this information relating to Pythagoras which has been given above and his being known as a disciple of Zarathustra, it is quite clear that they wanted to augment the dignity of Pythagoras thereby. In the end we must remember that without taking into account the true age of Zarathustra, by calling Pythagoras the contemporary of Zarathustra, they have involuntarily approached the traditional date of Zarathustra which falls in with Pythagoras' time in the sixth century B.C.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

Amongst the classical writers, the statements, as to the age of Zarathustra, of the Roman historian Ammianus, of Greek extraction, are worthy of note. Born in 330 A.C. and still living in 390 A.C., he was in the Roman army at the time of the Emperor Julianus's expedition against the Persian Emperor Šâpûr II, in 363 A.C. He was an eye-witness to the events of this war, which ended in the defeat of Rome, in which Emperor Julianus fell on the 26th of July 363 A.C., wounded by a deadly arrow. His history of Rome, which begins with the events of the year 96 A.C. and ends with those of 378 A.C., is evidently one of the important documents of our history of the Sasanian period. "Of this book, which originally contained thirty-one parts, the first thirteen are lost and the rest are extant. In the sixth chapter of the twenty-third part of his book, Ammianus speaks in detail about the Iranian Magi, who, according to him, were descended from a special sect, from generation to generation, from the time of Zarathustra, the founder of the Mazdayasnân faith, and they were ap-

pointed religious leaders. At first their number was small and it increased gradually. They are distinguishable from other classes of people by their manners and usages, and are particularly respected and honoured. In the beginning of this chapter, Ammianus writes that Plato has said that the Magian faith possesses the noblest ideals and is the purest form of worship of the Creator. Then, Ammianus himself adds that the Magian faith is a wisdom which the Bactrian sage, Zarathustra, had enlarged in old times from the secret instructions of the Chaldeans, and which the wise king Vistâsp, father of Darius, followed. According to Ammianus, the prophet of Irân, too, had come to an unknown land from India. There in a quiet and tranquil forest, where the spirit of Brahma prevailed, he received instructions about the rotation of the earth and the movements of the stars. From this statement of Ammianus it is clear that he had heard that Zarathustra had lived in the reign of Vistâsp, the king of Bactria. But as he had not come across any other Vistâsp in Iranian history, except the father of Darius the great Achæmenian, he had to remain ambiguous and made the father of Darius contemporary of Zarathustra, calling him the promulgator of the Magian faith.

Although the date, which tradition has later assigned to the prophet, approximates to the period of Vistâsp, father of Darius the Great, still Kâe Vistâspa, friend and protector of Zarathustra, who is one of the Kayanian kings, has no connection whatsoever in the tradition with Darius the Achæmenian. In his statement, Ammianus calls this Vistâsp, father of Darius, a king. Since Darius's father was not a king, but only a satrap of Parthia and Georgiana, appointed by his son, he is frequently mentioned in the

Achaemenian inscriptions. In the Behistân inscription Darius says of his father Vistâsp:—"Pârthava and Varkâna became rebellious to me and declared allegiance to Fravarti; my father Vistâspa was in Pârthava; the people abandoned him and became rebellious; afterwards Vistâspa went with his army which was loyal; there is a town Vispauzati by name in Pârthava; here he engaged in battle with the Parthians; Ahura Mazdâ bore me aid; by the grace of Ahura Mazdâ Vistâspa smote that rebellious army utterly; 22 days in the month Viyakhua were completing their course when the battle was fought by them. Afterwards I sent forth the Persian army to Vistâspa from Ragâ; when this army came to Vistâspa, Vistâspa took that army and went away; there is a town Patigrabanâ by name in Pârthava; here he engaged in battle with the rebels; Ahura Mazdâ bore me aid; by the grace of Ahura Mazdâ Vistâspa smote that rebellious army utterly; one day in the month Garmapada was completing its course, when the battle was fought by them."

In this inscription, Darius does not call his father a king, he is only one of the satraps of his realm.

Artaxerxes III (359-338 B.C.), in the inscription at Persepolis, gives the appellation of king to all his ancestors but Vistâspa:—"Says Artaxerxes the great king, king of kings, king of countries, king of this earth: I am the son of Artaxerxes the king; Artaxerxes was the son of Darius the king; Darius was the son of Artaxerxes the king; Artaxerxes was the son of Xerxes the king; Xerxes was the son of Darius the king; Darius was the son of Vistâspa by name; Vistâspa was the son of Arsâma by name, the Achaemenide."

Let us note here in passing that the name of Vistâspa's father is Arsâma, but the name of the father of Kaê

Vistâspa, the prophet's contemporary, is Lohrâsp. (= Avestan Aurvat-aspa). There is no doubt that Vistâspa, Darius's father, has no relationship whatsoever with Vistâspa, contemporary of the prophet Zarathustra. In view of the fact that Kaê Vistâspa is considered a great friend of the Zoroastrian religion and a holy man, in all the ages, persons have been given this great name and even to-day it is a name of common persons. The information of Ammianus, without giving any clue to the real age of Zarathustra, reminds us of Balkh, where the religion of Zarathustra progressed.

AGATHIAS

The Greek poet and historian, Agathias, lived about 536-582 A.C. Like Ammianus, he, too, has considered Zarathustra to be a contemporary of Vistâsp, but he did not know who this Vistâsp was. According to him "The Iranians, in old times, had the same religion as the Greeks and like them worshipped Zeus, Kronos and other Greek gods but by other names.....The Iranians of our time have entirely left off their old ideals and changed them. They follow a strange religion, brought by Zarathustra son of Oromasdes. We cannot say with certainty in which age this Zoroaster, also called Zarades, lived and when he introduced his faith. The Iranians to-day only say that he was a contemporary of Vistâsp, but this is very doubtful. We cannot remove this doubt as to whether this Vistâsp is Darius's father or some one else. Whenever he lived, he was certainly the prophet of the Iranians and he established the Magian faith."

SUIDAS

Finally, the writings of Suidas relating to the age of Zarathustra are worthy of note amongst the classical writers. Suidas was a Greek grammarian and philolo

gist who lived in 970 A.C. His lexicon is extant in which the names of many renowned personages of old are preserved. This book is not free from mistakes, because the writer did not possess the gifts of research and criticism, but it contains a series of statements of the classical writers, for which it is useful. Suidas has copied in his lexicon whatever he had read in the books of the classical writers without discernment or criticism. Relating to the subject in our hands we find in his writings some such statements of the classical writers. Under the word Pythagoras, it is stated that this Greek philosopher was the pupil of Zâretos, *i. e.*, Zarathustra. Under the word Zarathustra, he mentions two persons of that name: one, the sage of Pârs and Media, who lived 5000 years before the Trojan war, and the other, an astronomer who lived in the time of Ninus. Thus we see that we get the same information from Suidas as from the other classical writers, relating to the age of Zarathustra.

ZOROASTRIAN TRADITIONS

In the Zoroastrian traditions, the age of the prophet is placed between the years 660 and 583 B.C. This date has remained preserved in the Pahlavi books which slightly differ from one another. In the beginning of the first chapter of the *Artâ Virâf Nâma* it is said: "The holy Zarathustra promulgated in the world the religion which he had accepted from Ahura Mazdâ. It retained its pristine purity for three hundred years and the people remained steadfast to it. In the end the wicked Angra Mainyu, in order to create doubt amongst the people, instigated the accursed Alexander the Aruman, who was in Egypt, to offer terrible animosity and distress and destroy Irân. He killed the king of Irân and ruined the capital."

Zâtsparam, Dastur of Sirgân (Southern Persia), about 881 A.C., has stated in his 'Zaratust-nâma,' Ch. XXIII, 12, that a period of 300 years had elapsed from the time of the appearance of the religion till its fall and the destruction of the kingdom of Irân. There is no doubt that by the destruction of the kingdom of Irân, Zâtsparam meant the invasion of Alexander of Macedon in 331 B.C., when the last Achaemenian Emperor Darius III was killed in the month of July or August 330 B.C.

From the statement of the Bundahisn, Ch. XXXIV, 7-8, as regards the period of rule of the Kayanian kings till the death of Alexander (323 B.C.), it is evident that between the time of the appearance of Zarathustra and the death of Alexander, there was an interval of 272 years. Zarathustra, therefore, must have received the revelation in 595 B.C. According to the Bundahisn, Alexander ruled for fourteen years. If we reckon the years from the coming of Zarathustra till the beginning of the reign of Alexander, there is an interval of 252 years between these two events; but according to the Bundahisn reckoning the interval is of 258 years. In the books of the Iranian and Arab historians, the date of Zarathustra is believed to be about the same time. Amongst these Maçoudî, who died about 956 A.C., has written in his book, 'Muruj-adh-dhahab', that in the opinion of the Magians, from the time of their prophet Zarâdust ibn Asbitamân upto Alexander is 258 years. In another place, he has written 280 years. In his book, 'Kitâb-al-Tanbih va al-Ashrâf', Maçoudî says: "Zarâdûst, son of Borusasf, in the book of the Avesta which was revealed to him, had predicted that after 300 years, there would appear a great disaster in the country of Irân, when religion would not be finished, but at the end of the millennium the country and religion both would be destroyed." Therefore, the interval between Zarathustra

and Alexander is 300 years; because Zarathustra appeared in the time of Kaê Vistâsp son of Kaê Lohrâsp. Al-Birûnî (born in Khwarezm on the third day of the month Zî'l-Hajjat, 326 A.H. = 973 A.C. and died in Ghazna, on the second of Rajab, 440 A.H. = 1048 A.C.), has written that according to the Magians, the interval between Zarâdûst their prophet and the beginning of the rule of Alexander is 258 years.

Zoroastrian tradition mostly believes that the interval between the prophecy of Zarathustra and Alexander's invasion is 300 years. The same figure is found in the 'Olamâ-i Islâm' and in a poem named 'Kis̄sah-i Sultân Mahmûd Ghaznavî,' composed by Anôsirawân Marzabân Kermâni in 1620 A.C.

Thus, Zarathustra was born in 660 B.C.; he received the revelation when he was thirty years old. He received his martyrdom in Bactria from the murderous hand of a Tûranian, when he had attained to the seventy-seventh year of age. According to the traditions Zarathustra was the contemporary of Kaê Vistâsp son of Kaê Lohrâsp, who was ruling in the East of Irân in Balkh. This last fact is affirmed by Zarathustra himself. The prophet of Irân, in the Gâthâs, the Divine Hymns, composed by himself, mentions this king four times as the friend and protector of his religion, so that there remains no doubt that the Iranians had a kingdom in the East of Irân, in the time of Zarathustra.

Some orientalists consider this Kaê Vistâsp and the great Achæmenian king Darius's father Vistâsp as the same individual, just as we have mentioned while quoting Ammianus. About 1400 years ago, Agathias, of whom we have spoken above, had doubted whether Kaê Vistâsp, contemporary of Zarathustra, was the same as Vistâsp, father of Darius the Great or some other Vistâsp.

To-day we have no doubt that the times of these two persons named Vistâsp are separated from each other by many centuries.

We have seen that the Magi, the followers of the religion of Zarathustra, did exist before Darius the Great, the son of Vistâsp. Further more, how could it be possible for the Greek philosophers of the fourth century before Christ, such as Aristotle, Eudoxus and Hermodorus to write that Zarathustra had lived 6000 years before the death of Plato or 5000 years before the Trojan war, in view of the fact that between them and Vistâsp, father of Darius the Great, who ruled between 521 to 485 B. C., there was only a difference of a little more than a century? Herodotus, who had travelled in Irân in the time of Artaxerxes I (464-425 B.C.), has not named Zarathustra at all, whilst he has spoken in details about the Achæmenian kings upto his own time. If Zarathustra had appeared in the time of Darius or his father Vistâsp, there must have been at least some reference in his writings as regards this important event. This silence of Herodotus is a negative proof to show that in his time the religion of Zarathustra was the old religion of Irân ; it had not come into existence only half a century before him. Among the well-known scholars and orientalist Prof. Jackson and Dr. West, who are in favour of the traditional date, have not pronounced any connection between Kaê Vistâsp, king of Bactria, and the Achæmenian Vistâsp father of Darius the Great. Modern historians and orientalist declare on good authority that the religion of Irân had existed before the establishment of the Median kingdom in the West of Irân in 713 B.C. The traditional date is absolutely without foundation and against philological and historical arguments. I have treated the subject in detail elsewhere, and will not,

therefore, dilate upon it. But I will review in brief what I have already said : the language of the Gâthâs, the holy hymns of the prophet Zarathustra himself, is older than 700 B.C. In the cuneiform inscriptions of Sargon, Assyrian king of the eighth century before Christ, which have survived, we find the names of some of the chiefs of the Iranian tribes which were fighting with him. This is evidence to show that they were Zoroastrians.

In the statements of the Greek and Roman classical writers, the report of Xanthus, whom we have cited in the beginning of this lecture, seems to be worthy of credence; it bears the stamp of history and we can safely say that the appearance of the prophet of Irân was probably in 1080 B.C.

RAGHĀ

In this lecture, I propose to speak of Raghā or Raē which, at present, is a vast ruin near Teheran, standing in its original place, once the largest and most glorious city and province of old.

It is mentioned twice in the Avesta and often in the Achæmenian inscriptions. The Pahlavi commentaries of the Avesta mention two places named Raghā; but this duplication is a mistake resulting from the division of provinces on political grounds. Originally, there was only one famous city named Raghā.

The ruins of Raē to-day occupy an area of one 'farsang', i. e., $5\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres, situated to the south-east of Teheran. The shrine of 'Abd-ul 'Azîm is located in the neighbourhood of these ruins. Raē was one of the greatest and most renowned cities of Irân. We find mention of this ancient city in the Avesta, the Old Testament, the Achæmenian inscriptions, the Greek and Roman classical writers and the Pahlavi literature. This city is described in details specially by the Arab and Iranian writers of the *moyen* age. Raē was considered to be one of the largest cities of Irân, holding rank in importance with Ispahân and Nîsâpûr. During the times of the 'Abbâsid Khaliphs, Raē was the second best city next to Baghdâdh, and Damascus was at times considered its equal. On account of its antiquity, vastness and beauty, the writers of the *moyen* age, have called it 'Saikh ul-balâd', "Chief-of-the-cities", 'Um ul-balâd', "Mother-of-the-cities", and 'Arûs ul-balâd', "Bride-of-the-cities". On account of its immense commercial activities it was known to be the centre of the world trade. After the conquest of Irân by the Arabs, Raē saw

many vicissitudes. An Arab writer Ibn ul-Kartî (368-463 A.H.) says in his book, 'Fi m'ârefat-al-Ashâb', that after the death of No'amân ibn-ul-Makrân, conqueror of Nehâvand, Hudhaifah ibn-ul-Yaman, one of the greatest Ashâbs, *i. e.*, disciples, of the Arab prophet, who was commander of the Arabs, conquered Raê, Hamadân and Dinvar in 22 A.H. (= 643 A.C.). This conqueror of Raê died in 36 A.H. (= 658 A.C.) after the massacre of the Ottoman Khaliph. The calamities and ruin that befell this unfortunate city were so numerous that it was finally razed to the ground in the times of the Mongols. Cholera, plague, earthquake and fanaticism, the most fatal of all diseases, ravaged this city by turns. Ibn-ul-Athîr (555-630 A.H. = 1160-1234 A.C.), in his well-known work, writes as regards the events of 344 A.H.: "In this year (*i. e.*, 344), there was severe cholera in Raê and so many people died that the deaths could not be counted." In 582 A.H., he writes: "A great calamity befell Raê on account of a severe religious feud between the Sîas and the Sunnis; a number of people died. a great number migrated and the city and the province of Raê were deserted." The well-known historian Tabarî (224-310 A.H.) informs us that at the end of 249 A.H. there was severe earthquake in Raê, all the houses collapsed, and many people died. It is not my intention to give all such references, found in our history; I give only a few examples to illustrate the calamities which befell Raê. The attacks of the Ghuzz, the Turkish hordes, on Raê is well known. Togrul Beg, founder of the Saljuk dynasty, had reconstructed the city and his circular-shaped tomb is a mausoleum worth seeing to-day.

In 617 A.H., the well-known geographer Yâkût under the word 'Raê,' states as follows:—"Flying from the east of Irân, on account of the fury and ravage of the Tartars, I came to Raê. There I saw many ruins, dilapidated houses and fallen walls. There was still to be

seen the remnant of arts, paintings and beauty of this ruined city, as the calamity had befallen just before I came to the place. A trustworthy inhabitant of the place told me that the ruin was due to the great religious feuds of the *Sias* and the *Sunnis*. After the *Sunnis* had got the better of the *Sias*, there arose a dispute between the two sects of the *Sunnis*, the *Sâfaî* and the *Hanafi*, which ultimately led to the total ruin of *Raê*. Only a small portion of the residential quarters of the *Sâfaî* was saved with its population." Passing on from this tale of woes which befell this great city, the last and the greatest depredation which totally ruined this city for ever came from *Changiz* and *Taimur*. *Changiz's* attack on *Irân* commenced in 615 A.H. and lasted till his death in 624 A.H. *Taimur* proclaimed himself king in 771 A.H., began his attacks on *Irân* in 782 A.H., captured the whole of *Irân* and the neighbouring countries within fifteen years and died in 807 A.H. *Ibn-ul-Athîr*, describing the events of 618 A.H., says: "As the *Tartars* following *Sâh Muhammad* reached *Raê* from *Khwarezsm* they massacred the men, women and children of the city, plundered, devastated and burnt it, and perpetrated such cruelty as was never experienced before." Again, *Ibn-ul-Athîr*, whilst narrating the events of 621 A.H., writes about *Raê*: "Those who were saved in the first attack fled and returned after some time; when they were reorganising their city, *Changiz* suddenly made a second attack, put every inhabitant to the sword and fulfilled the cravings of his heart."

After *Changiz* came *Taimur* the *Tartar* with his furious attacks and the same calamity befell *Raê* once again as in the time of *Changiz*. *Clavijo*, the Spanish minister of the court of *Henry III*, who had come as an ambassador to the court of *Taimur* and lived in the court for a long time, gives in his memoirs a description of his visit to *Raê* in

1404 A.C. He says that this big city was nothing but a scene of debris and ruins.

Of this great and famous city of old times comparatively very little trace is left in the shape of ruins as everything was razed to the ground. In the time of the Turkoman Kâjâr king Aga Muhammad-Sâh (1796 A.C.), Teheran, which was then only a small village, was selected to be the capital of Irân, as it was in the vicinity of the habitation of the Turkoman tribe. Just as when the second 'Abbâsid Khaliph Mansur made Baghdâdh, then a very small village seven farsangs, *i. e.*, thirty miles from Ctesiphon, the capital of the Arab Empire in 145 A.H. (= 762 A.C.) and turned it into a big city from the materials of the great and famous city of Ctesiphon after devastating it with this specific object in view, so was Teheran built from the materials obtained from Raê, and we find a report of the British ambassadors who had gone there at the end of the eighteenth century that they had seen poor people taking away bricks from the ruined buildings of Raê in order to sell them in Teheran to earn their livelihood, which shows that the city of Teheran was originally built from bricks and materials pilfered from Raê.

It is interesting to note that when the British Embassy visited Raê in the last years of the eighteenth century, they saw a beautiful, unfinished statue of a Sasanian king on horse-back with spear in hand. A part of the crown was unfinished and a platform was erected in front of the statue to locate that of the opponent. As the other statue was never taken in hand, the platform had remained empty. The incomplete statue was probably that of Artakhsîr Pâpakân and the vacant platform was intended for the statue of the last Arsâcidan king Ardavân, whom Artakhsîr Pâpakân had defeated in 224 A.C. Some orientalists think that the statue is that of Sâpûr II. On the strength of the

vivid description given by the British Embassy and from the account and sketch of this statue given by Sir William Ouseley in his book of Travels in Persia, it seems to be certain that it is Artaḫsīr Pāpakān's statue and the vacant platform was meant for Ardavān's. But the cynical, captious and uncivilised Fateh-'Alī Šāh, second king of the Kājār dynasty, ordered this old work of art to be mutilated and spoilt and changed into an ugly statue of his own on horse-back with a long beard, an equally long crown and spear in hand, and caused a lion's statue to be erected on the empty platform, as if he could not find stones enough to erect a separate statue for himself. It is deplorable that such an important artistic monument of the great and glorious king Artaḫsīr has been effaced and replaced by the figure of one quite unworthy to occupy the seat of that great Sasanian king and hero. The old statue, though unfinished, was really a beautiful work of art carved out of fine polished stone with a globe-shaped crown on the king's head and a ribbon hanging down his head. We find exactly the same representation on the Sasanian coins. Fateh-'Alī Šāh, the despoiler of this ancient monument in the sacred city of Rāē, was of low mentality and base nature. He had 260 direct children and when he died the number had reached 786 and twenty years after his death, his descendants numbered 10,000. One of his sons, Muhammad 'Alī Mirzā Daulatšāh, governor of Kermānšāh, spoilt and effaced a part of the hunting scene of Khusrū Parvīz carved on the Tāk-i Bostān and engraved the relief of himself, his son and his eunuch in place of the carvings of Parvīz. The supplemented picture looks quite ridiculous by the side of the great Sasanian art of Tāk-i Bostān. One of the reasons of the total ruin of Rāē is this that unscientific and avaricious excavators have taken away rare porcelain and glass works found there. At one

time Europe and America were full of the finds from such excavations, specially from the finds of the *moyen* age.

Whilst speaking of the splendour of Raê and of its ruins after the Arab invasion, I will point out before closing this subject, what the well-known historian Tabari has said. According to Tabari, Raê was captured two years before the death of Khaliph 'Omar, killed by a Persian Christian named Piruz in 23 A.H. (= 644 A.C.). The Arabs secured as much booty from Raê as they had from Madâyen, the Sasanian capital, which was conquered in 16 A.H. (= 637 A.C.). The booty seized in Madâyen was so immense that each of the 60,000 Arabs got riches of £500 in value. Khaliph Hârûn al-Rasîd was born in Raê in 149 A.H. (=February 766 A.C.). His father Khaliph M'amûn lived there, Hârûn died in Tus in Khorasan in 193 A.H. As he was born in Raê, he had great love for his native place and in his time Raê was very prosperous.

Usually there are traditions connected with the foundations of great cities of ancient Irân. Similarly, there is a tradition that Raê was first founded by Hosang, the first Pêsdâdian king. Some, however, say that it was founded by Kaêkhusru son of Siâvas; some state that it was founded by Seth son of Adam, and Hosang afterwards added to it. After its ruin Manuchihr son of Irach son of Faredun rebuilt it. According to Tabari, Manuchihr-i Pêsdâdi was born in Raê. Aspandyâr, one of the seven great men of the time of Gustâsp, was living in Raê. Ibn-ul-Fakîh says that Bêwarasp (Zohâk) brought with him the mountain which overlooks Raê to-day, when he fled from Ispahân to Raê. According to Bundahisn, Chapter 31, 40, Kaêkhusru was the suzerain of Raê.

According to the Old Testament, Rages or Ragau, as the name is pronounced, was a flourishing city in north-eastern Media, in the eighth and the seventh centuries before

Christ. In the books of Tobit (i. 14, v. 5, vi. 9, 12, etc.) and Judith (i. 5, 15), it is mentioned as an important place along with Niniveh and Ecbatana.¹ The strange story of the angel Raphael's visit to Rages is also familiar to those who have read the Apocrypha. Hence, it is certain that Raê and Ecbatana were two great and famous cities in the time of the Medians.

Darius the Great (521-480 B.C.), whilst narrating in his inscriptions at Behistân the events of the fourth and fifth years of his rule, twice mentions Raê: "Says Darius the king: Afterwards I went from Babylon; I went away to Media; when I went to Media, there is a town Kunduru by name in Media, here this Fravarti who called himself king in Media went with his army against me to engage in battle; afterwards we engaged in battle; Ahura Mazdâ bore me aid; by the grace of Ahura Mazdâ I smote the army of Fravarti utterly; 25 days in the

1 "Then the angel said to Tobiyah, From whence art thou, young man. And Tobiyah answered and said, I am of the children of Israel. Then Tobiyah said, My Lord, knowest thou how to go with me to Media. And the angel said, Yea, I know all the ways, and in Media I have been a guest in the house of our brother Gabael, who dwelleth at Rages, a city of Media, and it is a two days' journey from Agbatanis to Rages, and Rages is built on a mountain, but Agbatanis is built on a plain." (Tobit, Ch. V.)

"And they came to Agbatanis, and the angel said to Tobiyah, My brother, we shall pass the night in the house of Reuel, for he is an old man, and hath an only daughter, fair of form, whose name is Sarah, and I will speak to him that he may give her to thee to wife. And she is of good understanding, and her father loveth her. Now therefore hear me, and speak for her and when we shall return from Rages, we will celebrate the marriage." (Ch. VI.)

"Then Tobiyah called Raphael, and said to him, My brother Azarya, take with thee hence four servants and two camels, and comê, go to Rages, to Gabael, my uncle, and give him his bag, and he will give thee the money. So, Raphael arose, and took two camels and four servants, and went to Rages, to the house of Gabael, and gave him his bag." (Ch. IX.)

month Adukanîsha were completing their course, then we engaged in battle. Afterwards this Fravarti with a few horsemen fled; there is a region Ragâ by name in Media; along there he went; afterwards I sent forth my army in pursuit; Fravarti seized was led to me; I cut off his nose and ears and tongue, and I put out his eyes; he was held bound at my court; all the people saw him; afterwards I put him on a cross at Ecbatana, and what men were his foremost allies, these I haled within the fortress at Ecbatana."

We read further: "Pârthava and Varkâna became rebellious to me and declared allegiance to Fravarti; my father Vistâspa, he was in Pârthava; the people abandoned him and became rebellious; afterwards Vistâspa went with his army which was loyal; there is a town Vispauzâti by name in Pârthava; here he engaged in battle with the Parthians; Ahura Mazdâ bore me aid; by the grace of Ahura Mazdâ Vistâspa smote that rebellious army utterly; 22 days in the month Viyakhna were completing their course, then the battle was fought by them. Afterwards I sent forth the Persian army to Vistâspa from Ragâ; when this army came to Vistâspa, afterwards Vistâspa took that army and went away; there is a town Patigrabanâ by name in Pârthava; here he engaged in battle with the rebels; Ahura Mazdâ bore me aid; by the grace of Ahura Mazdâ Vistâspa smote that rebellious army utterly; one day in the month Garmapada was completing its course—then the battle was fought by them."

In the historical records of many centuries, there are various references to this great and ancient city of Raghâ. I will mention a few of them.

The Greek historian Arrian, in the first century after Christ, in his famous book 'Anabasis' or expeditions of Alexander, mentions that Alexander had conquered the

four capitals of Persia: Babylon, Susa, Persepolis and Ecbatana. When he came to Hagmatâna (= Ecbatana) he came to know that Darius III was in Raghâ. Having seized enormous wealth from Ecbatana, he went to Raghâ where he rested for five days. Darius had fled from Raghâ to the Caspian Gates; Alexander, with his army, followed him and marched to the east along what is till to-day the post road between Teheran and Mashad. After one day's journey Alexander reached the Caspian Gates. During the second day's journey, having passed beyond the Gates, he heard that Darius was captured. Hastening his march, after two days' journey he came to a stage where he heard that the satrap Bessus had captured Darius. On the fifth day, he came to a place where a night before the Iranian army had encamped; from there he found out a short cut to another stage and reaching that place just before sunset, he encountered the Iranian army which did not offer any resistance. Knowing that Alexander was approaching, Bessus gave orders to put to death Darius, who was a captive, and fled away. Alexander found the dead body of Darius full of wounds near a spring in his chariot. The well-known Caspian Gates called Pylæ Caspiæ in Greek are identified with Sirdaria. The place where Alexander found the dead body of Darius is not mentioned, but according to a Persian tradition it is Dâmaghân; it seems to be correct, as Dâmaghân is just 200 miles from Raghâ. Arrian's report corroborates the fact that Alexander did traverse thirty miles each day for the first five days and fifty miles on the sixth, which makes up the total of two hundred miles. Thus we learn that Raghâ was visited by the great Achæmenian emperor Darius and the great devastator Alexander within the interval of a few days.

The Greek geographer Strabo, born in 60 B.C., has written that Seleucus Nicator, Alexander's general and successor, who came to the throne in 281 B.C., had repaired

Raghâ after an earthquake and changed its name to 'Europos'. He further states that the Parthian king Tiridates (248-214 B.C.), changed this name also and called it 'Arsakia', after 'Arsaces,' founder of the Askanian dynasty in 250 B.C. In spite of these two changes of name, Raghâ was known to antiquity by its original name. It must be mentioned here that some historians, along with Tabari say that Arsaces, the first Askanian king, was an inhabitant of Raghâ. It seems that Raghâ was the capital of the Askanian kings. According to the Shâh-nâma Pâpak had sent young Artakhsîr to the court of the king Ardavân in Raê. From the Pahlavi Kârnâma-i Artakhsîr-i Pâpakân we learn that armies were sent from Damâvand and Raê to help Ardavân, but he became helpless, as the glory was with Artakhsîr.

Ptolemy, in the second century after Christ, has mentioned Raê as one of the provinces of the Parthian kings.

In any case, we gather from the oldest Persian and Arab writers that Raê was a province pertaining to 'Pahlav' or Parthia. One of them is Ibn-Khordâdben who wrote in 232 A.H. (= 847 A.C.).

We find many references to Raê in the Sasanian times and many famous persons are said to have been the natives of this place.

Ibn-Rosta, who lived in the second half of the third century A.H. (= end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century after Christ), writes that in the court of the kings the nobles of Raê occupied a place next to those of Ispahan.

Ibn-ul-Athîr states that the wife of Khusru Nosîrwân, daughter of Davar and Anôsazâd's mother, was from Raê. Beheram Chubin, the general of king Hormazd who had fought victoriously against the Turks and had afterwards

become an opponent of Khusru Parvîz (590-628 A.C.), was from Raê.

We now come to the most ill-fated period in the life of this unfortunate city. When Yazdagard, the last Sasanian king heard of the decisive result of the battle of Nehâvand, he fled to Raê, took the holy fire from there and went to Ispahan, Istakhr, Kerman, Sistan and finally to Merv where he was killed. In his most miserable wanderings, for ten years he carried with him the holy fire of Raê and established it in Merv. There is a mountain called Kuh-i Bibi Sahrbânû overlooking Raê. According to a tradition one of the daughters of Yazdagard had fled thither owing to the fear of the hostile Arab army. This mountain broke open and took her under its protection. This tradition conveys the idea that this lifeless block of rock was kinder than the heartless Arabs. According to the facts of history, when the Iranians were finally defeated and Madâyen and other cities fell, a large number of them including three daughters of Yazdagard were taken prisoners. Ibn-Khalikan 608-681 A.H. (= 1211-1282 A.C.), who has taken his report from Zamakhsari 467-538 A.H. (= 1074-1143 A.C.), has said that when these captives were brought to Khaliph 'Omar at Medina he ordered them to be sold as slaves. 'Ali was present at the time and requested 'Omar not to sell the daughters of king Yazdagard along with the ordinary people. When asked as to what he proposed to do, he said that a certain price was to be fixed for them and those who could afford to pay it would have them. 'Omar agreed to this. Then 'Ali bought the three daughters himself and gave one in marriage to his son Husain, another to 'Abdullah son of 'Omar and the third to Muhammad son of Abubakr. Zain-ul-'Abêdîn was born of Husain, Sâlem of 'Abdullah and Kâsem of Muhammad. Thus, these three persons were cousins born of the three daughters of Yazdagard. Sahrbânû was Zain-ul-'Abêdîn's

mother. Saikh-i Mufid, in his book *Ersâd*, has called her 'Sâh-i Zanân'. The Siîtes revere the line of 'Ali, because they say that half their blood and progeny are from the royal family of Yazdagard.

The different dates assigned by the historians to the capture of Raê by the Arabs, 18, 19, 20, 21 A. H., *i. e.*, 640, 641, 642, 643 A. C., are due to Raê having risen up again and again and the Arabs having had to fight so many times till they could finally capture it. The names of the generals who fought, as given by the historians, are not the same for the same reason. It is noted down in history that the capture of Raê took place two months after the battle of Nehâvand. The first general who treacherously captured Raê was Hudhaifah mentioned above. In 25 A.H., Raê rose in revolt once again. In 64 A.H. (= 685 A. C.) after the death of the Umayyad Khaliph Yazid, Raê tried to be independent, once again, under the leadership of the Iranian general Farrokhân. Attâb ibn-Vargha recaptured it. In 68 A. H., Farrokhân was killed and the Arab army plundered Raê. Before Raê came into the hands of the Arabs, an army of Raê under the Iranian general Pîrûzân, was then fighting in Jalûla and Nehâvand. This army also joined with the army of Âzarbâijân and Dailam and blocked the northern path against the Arabs.

Yâkût, who believed that Raê was conquered in 19 or 20 A.H., has left for us a poem of the Arab poet Abu Najd, who was in the Arab army and was wonder-struck at the greatness, pomp and glory of Raê. This shows how these bare-footed Arabs were overwhelmed with astonishment at the Iranian civilization.

Raê was not only the name of a city, it was also the name of a presidency, just as Ibn-ul-Faqîh Hamadâni states in his geographical work written in 290 A. H. (= 903 A. C.)

that in the time of the Khaliphs the presidency of Raê had seventeen towns such as Khvar, Dumbâvand, Wima, Salamba and others.

Yâkût has preserved a very interesting tradition for the derivation of the word 'Raê'. He says: "I have read in a very old Persian book that Kaê Kâus constructed a wheel, provided it with all the necessary implements and desired to fly on it to the sky. God ordered the wind to drag him to the clouds. When he had reached the region of the clouds he was left alone and fell down into the sea of Gôrgân, *i. e.*, the Caspian Sea. When Kaê Khusru son of Siâvas came to the throne he repaired this machine and went in it to Babylon. When he came to a place which is called Raê to-day, the people said: بری آمد کیخسرو. "Kaê Khusru has come on a wheel." Yâkût further says that رى means wheel (charkh) in the Persian language. Kaê Khusru ordered that a city should be built on the same place and should be called 'Raê.' I think that this word is not quite clear etymologically, though certain orientalists have made conjectures and compared it with some Avestan word.

The popular etymology which Yâkût has given is taken from a lost Persian word 'rah,' "wheel," which is traceable to the Avestan 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀 (ratha) and Pahlavi 𐭯𐭲𐭩 (ras). The same word exists in all the Indo-European languages, as *rota* in Latin, *roue* in French and *räd* in German. According to Ibn-ul Kalbî, who died probably in 204 A. H. (= 819 A. C.), the name Raê is derived from 'Reu'. Reu was the son of Peleg son of Eber son of Salah son of Arphaxad son of Shem son of Nuh (Noah).

We now come to the oldest Iranian document, the Avesta, in which 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀 (Raghâ) is mentioned twice: in Yasna 19, 18, and Vendîdâd, 1, 15.

“ Who are the Ratus? The house lord, the village lord, the district lord, the country lord; Zarathustra is the fifth of those countries other than the Zarathustrian Raghâ. The Zarathustrian Raghâ is of four Ratus.

“ Who are its Ratus? The house lord, the village lord, the district lord; Zarathustra is the fourth.”

“ Which are the Rats? The chief of the house, the chief of the village, the chief of the district, the chief of the country; Zaratust is the fifth of the provinces other than Ragh of Zaratust. There is the chieftainship of four over the Ragh of Zaratust. Which are its chiefs? The house lord, the village lord, the district lord and Zaratust is the fourth.”

Neryôsang, the well-known Parsi priest of Sanjan, has added the following explanation in his Sanskrit translation prepared in the twelfth century A.C.:

“Zarathustra was the fourth Ratu in Raghâ because Raghâ was his own.”

This paragraph has preserved for us the basis of the old Iranian administration and indicates the holiness of Raghâ. In ancient times every family had its head who was called the ‘nîmânô-paiti’ (𐬨𐬁𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬢𐬀𐬵𐬀); every village had its chief who was called the ‘vis-paiti’ (𐬶𐬰𐬀𐬢𐬀𐬵𐬀); every district had its chief who was called the ‘zantu-paiti’ (𐬲𐬀𐬽𐬵𐬀𐬢𐬀𐬵𐬀); every province had its chief who was called the ‘daiñhu-paiti’ (𐬳𐬀𐬿𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬀𐬵𐬀), and above all these was the spiritual head, called Zarathustrôtêma (𐬲𐬀𐬹𐬵𐬀𐬴𐬀𐬼𐬀𐬵𐬀). Philologically, the word means “the

in the Fravardîn Yast, 89, where it is said that Zarathustra was the first priest, the first warrior, and the first agriculturist. According to the Bundahisn, Ch. 32, the chiefs of these three vocations were the three sons of Zarathustra, Isatvâstra, chief of the priests, the second son Urvatafnar, chief of the warriors, and Kh'arsêtchihr, chief of the agriculturists. From the Pahlavi commentary quoted above we find that according to one opinion, Zaratust was a native of Raê. No doubt, the Pahlavi writers took this idea from Yasna 19, 18, quoted above, where Raghâ is said to be 'Zarathustri'. Perhaps it only conveys this meaning that the spiritual and temporal head is the 'Zarathustrôtéma'. It does not seem to prove that Zarathustra was a native of Raghâ. We find the same tradition in the later Iranian writings which connects Zarathustra with Raghâ, *e.g.*, the Dînkard, Book VII, Ch. 2, speaking of Zarathustra's birth and divine message (paras 7-13) says that when his mother Doghdu was a girl in her father's house, the divine glory shone from out her person. The Dêvs, the Karapans and the Kiks (Kâvayas) took her to be a sorceress. They protested to her father to send her away from their village. The girl's father bade her go to Paitiraspa, a house lord in the town of Spitamân in the village of Arak. The daughter obeyed her father's order. There she was married to Pourusaspa son of Paitiraspa. It must be noted that the family of Doghdu and of Pourusaspa did not belong to the same place.

We also find the same tradition, showing Zarathustra's connection with Raghâ in the 'Dabistân-ul-Madhâheb' written at the end of the seventeenth century.

In Zâtsparam, Ch. 16, 12-13, we find two names of places, Râgh and Nôtar, which are two districts of Âzarbâijân.

aggrieve your father, mother and teacher." In this beautiful admonition, Pourusaspa, name of Zarathustra's father and Dughdhôvâ, name of Zarathustra's mother, are used to mean father and mother in general and the word 'aêthra-paiti' (herbad) is used in its old Avestan meaning "teacher."

Although the name of Zarathustra's mother is not preserved in the existing Avesta, we often find it in the Pahlavi literature, *e. g.*, the Bundahisn, Ch. 32, 10, says: "The name of the mother of Zaratust was Dughtâv and the name of the father of Dughtâv was Frahimravâ." We find the same statement in the Sâyast Lâ-Sâyast, Ch. 10, 4, in the Dinkard, Book VII, Ch. 2, 3, and elsewhere.

As noted above, Zarathustra's mother was from Raê. Sârastânî who lived in the sixth century A.H. (1086-1153 A.C.) says, in his famous book *Al-milal-val-nehâl*: "Zaradust son of Bursasb appeared in the time of king Gustâsb son of Luhrâsb; his father was from Âzarbâijân and his mother from Raê and her name was Dughdu." *Dehkhoda*

We have noted that the Pahlavi commentators of the Vendidad 1, 15, mention two Raghâs. Why? Is it a mistake? Khusru Nôsirwân had divided his kingdom and placed it under the government of four Sepeh-bads, *viz.*, Kost-i Khorâsân (the East), Kost-i Kh'arvarân (the West), Kost-i Apâkhtar (the North) and Kost-i Nîmrôch (the South); the Apâkhtar-Kost, *i. e.*, the Northern Division, was so very extensive that Raê was included in its boundaries, and Âzarbâijân being the largest and most famous province in the northern part, in later times it became the common practice to include Raê in Âzarbâijân. As we know, before the time of Khusru Nôsirwân Raê was never considered as part of Âzarbâijân. Even as late as in the time of Alexander the Great, there were rulers named Âtrôpât in Âtrôpatakân and Raê had then no connection with it. We thus see that the authority

of the Pahlavi writers who have mentioned 'Râk' as included in Âzarbâijân is these four political divisions made in the time of Khusru Nôsirwân and the other Raê mentioned by them was the Raê which they knew was located near Teheran. We have said above that in the time of the Seleucidan and Askanian rulers, Raê was considered an independent province under their sway and had no connection with Âzarbâijân.

The Avestan Raghâ, Ragâ in the Achæmenian inscriptions, the Greek Ragai, Latin Rhagae, Pahlavi Râk, Râg or Arâk, all refer to the same place, to the famous Raê, which is in ruins to-day.

We have noted above that Raê was called 'Raghâ Zarathustris.' Several orientalist think that it was the seat of the Zarathustrôtema, who held the spiritual suzerainty. Damâvand was a part of the province of Raê and, after the Arab invasion, we find mention of the 'Mas Moghân' many a time in Tabari, Yâkût, Ibn-ul-Athîr and Al-Bîrûnî. The prince of this place was called 'Mas Moghân', "Chief of the Magi" and we know that this priestly dynasty was captured after the Arab invasion of Irân. They must have made an arrangement with the Khaliphs for payment of the tax of 2,00,000 Dirhams and were thus spared, but finally they came into conflict. The fortification of Damâvand was called Ustunavand; it was also called Jarhod. According to Yâkût the fortress was very old and strong and according to tradition it had stood there for 3000 years. The first authentic mention we have of the 'Mas Moghân' is in 31 A. H. (= 652 A. C.). According to Ibn-ul-Athîr, Abu-Muslim, the Arab governor of Khorâsân, asked the 'Mas Moghân' to surrender, and as he refused, he sent Musâ bin-K'ab against him but without any decisive result. The last of the 'Mas Moghâns' was defeated in the time of Khaliph Mehdi, according to Tabari, in 141 A. H. (= 763 A. C.).

He and his brother Aparvîz were captured and killed and his two daughters were sent to Baghdâdh to Mehdi.

I now refer to a very interesting subject. I summarise the appealing voice of the last Zoroastrian poet of Raê, the writer of the Persian Zaratusht-nâma, whose name was Zaratusht Beheram Pazdû. His poetry is not of a high order, but his work is precious for more than one reasons. He has preserved for us the old Iranian Zoroastrian tradition as well as some purely Iranian technical words belonging to the Zoroastrian religion by using them in his poetry. His source, as he himself has said, was Pahlavi and a learned priest had given him the translation from Pahlavi. He says: "My father and my whole family are natives of Raê," and he is proud of it. Above all, his feeling for his country and his religion is of great value to us to-day. He had written four works in verse of which perhaps the 'Zaratusht-nâma' is by far the best. Zaratusht Beheram Pazdû had completed his Zaratusht-nâma on the day Âdar of the month Âbân, in the Yazdagardi year 647 (= 12th August, 1278 A.C.). We know that Changiz Khan died in 1227 A.C. and Pazdû wrote fifty-one years after the great devastation of this first Mongol. He was thus between the two devastators, Changiz and Taimurlane, and during the invasion of the latter, Raê was totally devastated. As I know of no other writer of this place Raghâ, after this date, I consider the voice of Zaratusht Beheram Pazdû as that of the last of the singers of old times from Raê. From his book 'Sâh-zâda-i Irân and Khaliph 'Omar', preserved in the Rivâyat, we clearly note the distress and anguish of heart of the writer at the misfortunes of Irân, his beloved country.

It will not be out of place to mention here that Raê has produced great famous men in literature, science and medicine, and their names are preserved in the records of history, but this is not the place to dwell on their career.

In this concise and rapid review of a long range of materials, we have noticed the ups and downs of this famous city. From the antiquity and sanctity of this place, we can say that it was the cradle of Iranian civilization and culture. The severe blows and misfortunes that befell this city have no doubt effaced its glory and majesty, and though what we see of it to-day is but a mound of ruins, void of its ancient wealth and architecture, it is still full of the pure air which it once breathed and the light it once gave to the world.

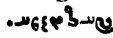
'Sic transit gloria mundi'!

REFERENCES TO BUDDHISM IN IRANIAN LITERATURE AND HISTORY

In this lecture I propose to deal with some references to Buddhism in Iranian literature and history. It is not my aim to discuss Buddhistic doctrines and teachings. What impels me to speak of Buddhism is the Fravardin Yast, 16, which says :—

“ By means of the radiance and the glory of the Fravashis, *i. e.*, the Guardian Spirits, a renowned sage will be born, who will attract the attention and the confidence of the public by his learning, will overcome Gaotema in the discussions and be victorious.”

Gaotema is an interesting proper name in this paragraph. Excepting this only reference, Gaotema is not mentioned anywhere else in the entire Zoroastrian Scripture. We do not know the exact signification of the word. The word गौतम, ‘Gotama’, is found in Sanskrit, meaning a class of singers of the Vedic hymns. Also the name of the founder of Buddhism happens to be Gautama, and this has led Dr. Martin Haug and other orientalists to identify him with Gaotema of the Avesta. In the paragraph of the Fravardin Yast quoted above they see a reference to a discussion between Zarathustra and Gautama Buddha. Darmesteter is particularly emphatic in his opinion that this passage of the Fravardin Yast alludes to an actual discussion which had taken place between a follower of Zarathustra and a disciple of Buddha. This supposition and the arguments put forth in its support, however, have no foundation to warrant such a conclusion.

Before Darmesteter, Spiegel translated the passage in a different way. He did not take the word  (Gaotema) to be the name of an individual, but a collective noun signifying "countryman" (Ger. landmann).

Geldner translated this word 'Stannesgenossen,' i. e., "member of a clan."

Considering Gaotema an adversary of the Mazda-yasnân faith, Justi has remarked that it may be a collective noun, not a proper name.

Tiele asserts that the Gaotema of the Avesta and Gautama Buddha have no connection whatsoever. He holds that Gaotema mentioned in the Avesta is possibly Gotama, one of the Rishis of the Vedas. He, moreover, doubts if ever the single name Gautama was used for the founder of Buddhism in ancient times, without one of his titles, Buddha or Sramana, or without his family name Sākya.

The Vedas, on the other hand, contain the names of seven Rishis, i. e., teachers or singers of the Vedic hymns, one of whom is certainly Gotama. This name occurs frequently in the Vedas and we also find it in the Mahābhārata.

In order to follow the subject clearly we shall briefly review such portion of the life of Buddha as concerns our inquiry. It is necessary because the occurrence in the Avesta of another word 'Bûiti' has set some orientalists speculating, who try to connect 'Bûiti' with 'Buddha.'

We know that the famous Indian Emperor Asoka (263 - 226 or 260 - 223 B. C.) was to Buddhism what Kava Vistâspa was to Zoroastrianism and Constantine to Christianity. From an inscription dating from Asoka's time we understand 480 B. C. to be the date of Buddha's death, although generally it is said to be earlier by three

years. We learn from the Buddhist Scriptures that Buddha had lived eighty years. It follows that he must have been born in 560 or 563 B. C. His birthplace is known as Kapilavastu near the southern confines of Nepal. His father Suddhodana was a king belonging to the Sākya tribe. His family name was Gautama and Siddhārtha was one of his epithets. After his historic renunciation of family and fortune, when he went out to preach his doctrine at various places in India, his contemporaries gave him the appellative 'Sramaṇa', "ascetic" or "hermit". The modern Persian word شن, 'Saman,' can be traced from 'Sramaṇa'. It was customary for noble families of ancient times to name themselves after one of the great Rishis of old; it appears that the Sākya tribe had called themselves 'Gautama' after 'Gotama' of Vedic fame. Buddha is a title signifying "Awakened" or "Wise," given to him by his disciples on account of his teachings to attain 'Nirvāṇa.' It is possible that the same epithet was also given by the followers of other religious sects to their own preceptors who were contemporaneous with Buddha. He was sometimes poetically called 'Sākyamuni,' *i. e.*, "The sage of the Sākya tribe."

Under the powerful patronage of Asoka the religion of Buddha spread far and wide beyond the bounds of India, Kasmir, and the entire north-western provinces, including Kandahar and Kābul alike, came under its influence, and through the zeal of its missionaries it gradually penetrated the countries by the shores of the Oxus. There is no doubt that before the birth of Christianity, Buddhism had spread in the Zoroastrian country of Bactria and Buddhist temples had been reared by its devotees. The well-known Greek historian Polyhistor, who wrote his work between 60 and 70 B. C., mentions the 'Sramaṇas', *i. e.*, the "Buddhist monks of Bactria."

The second Seleucid king Antiochus, who ruled over Irân and the adjoining territory between 261 and 246 B. C., had complied with the request of the Indian king Asoka and allowed veterinary hospitals, and shelters for animals to be built in his dominion according to Buddhist teachings.

When some of the Iranians took to Buddhism, they contributed handsomely to its literature and their service in this direction is scarcely less valuable than the permanent benefit conferred by the versatile genius of a group of Iranian savants on the Islamic religion, literature, science and art.

I will quote here an account of the Persian Buddhists in China given by Kentok Hori¹ of the Imperial University of Tokio:—

“Ancient Persia sent a number of Buddhist missionaries to China in the early part of the history of Chinese Buddhism. We do not know exactly how many Persian Buddhist missionaries came to China, but from memoirs of eminent monks, such as No. 1490 in Nanjio’s Catalogue of the Chinese ‘Tripitaka’, and various catalogues of the Chinese Buddhist books, we learn that there were at least five Persian Buddhist translators in China in the period between the middle of the second century and the beginning of the fourth. Even in the seventh century there were several hundred Buddhist monks in the dominion of Persia. Hsuan Tsang, a great Chinese pilgrim, while travelling in the western frontier of India near Beluchistan in 644 A. D., was told by the native people about the Persian Buddhism of that time. This information is contained in a short note on Persia in his *Si-yu-ki*,

1 ‘The Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume’, Bombay, 1928, p. 509, sq.

chapter 11, in which he says that 'there are two or three Buddhist monasteries (in Persia) with several hundred monks by whom the Hīnayāna doctrine of Sarvāstivāda was followed.'

"Foreign Buddhist missionaries in ancient China often translated their names into Chinese with a particular word in the beginning to denote the native country of each one. ... Parthia was called *An-si* (Japanese *An-sok*) in early historical records of China. ... *An-si* is the Chinese transliteration of *Arsak*, another form of *Arsakide*, the name of an ancient Persian dynasty. The ancient Chinese had no sound like *ar* and used *an* to transliterate *ar* in a foreign sound. In the fashion just mentioned, ancient Persian Buddhists in China should have *An* in the beginning of their names. The five Persian Buddhist translators are: An Shi-kao, An Hūan, T'an-wu-ti, An Fa-hien and An Fa-ch'in.

"An Shi-kao, sometimes called An Tsing, was a son of the queen, and the crown prince of An-si. He learned thoroughly various branches of art and science, and was interested in religious books of foreign countries. When his father, the king, died, he was deeply impressed with sorrow and the unreality of the world. So he gave up his kingdom to his uncle, and becoming a monk, studied the doctrine of the Buddha. He understood 'Sūtra-pitaka', was well-versed in 'Abhidharma', and often recited sūtras on meditation. Sometime later, he left his country, and wandered about in foreign lands until he came to China and arrived at Lo-yang, the capital of China, in 148 A.D. Chinese catalogues of Buddhist books differ in numbering his works.

"An, Hūan was a prince and an upasaka of the country of An-si. He was a gentleman of amiable character, learned in secular and religious literature. When he came to China, the Emperor Liang honored him with

the rank of the first colonel in the Chinese cavalry division. So he was often known in China by the name of Prince An or Colonel An. With the assistance of a Chinese scholar Yen Fo-t'ao, he translated ... two works into Chinese at Lo-yang in 181 A.D.

"T'an-wu-ti, or Dom-mu-tai as the Japanese pronounce it, is a transliteration of the Sanskrit Dharma-satya or the Pāli 'Dhamma-sacca'. He was a Buddhist monk of the country of An-si. He translated important passages taken from Vinaya of the Dharmagupta school in White Horse Monastery at Lo-yang in 254 A. D. His work (Nanjio's Catalogue No. 1146) exists in the Chinese 'Tripitaka' in the name of 'T'an-wu-to-che-mo' (Dharmagupta-karman).

"Fa-hien may be the Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit Dharma-bhadra. He was a Buddhist monk of the country of An-si. We do not know the date of his arrival in China... Unfortunately two works of An Fa-hien were lost before 730 A.D. Anyway An Fa-hien was a Mahāyānist, for both works belong to the school of the Greater Vehicle.

"Fa-ch'in was a Buddhist monk of the country of An-si. He came to China, and translated five works ... at Lo-yang in the period between 281 and 306 A. D. Chinese Buddhist catalogues mention names of these works, but three of them were lost before 730 A. D. At present we have the following two works in the Chinese 'Tripitaka':

- "(a) *O-yu-wang-chuan* (Life of King Ashoka)
- (b) *Tao-shan-tsu-ching* (Sûtra on the supernatural footsteps)

The religion of Buddha had, as already mentioned, reached the Iranian countries before that of Christ, and we have seen from the account of Hsüan Tsang that there

were three Buddhist monasteries in Persia. Of all the records of many Chinese pilgrim-travellers who went far and wide in search of Buddhist religious books and manuscripts, Hsüan Tsang's report is the most interesting. This great Chinese Buddhist monk was born in 603 A. C. in the province of Honan. In 629 he left China in quest of Buddhist literature and things of the cult, and returned to his fatherland in 645 A. C. When he was travelling in Central Asia and the neighbouring Iranian country he appears to have made accurate notes. His description of Balkh, which he calls in Chinese 'Po-Ho' or 'Tu-Ho-Lo', as a centre of the Buddhist cult is very interesting. This Balkh or Bactria, as is well known, occurs as 'Bâkhdhri' in the Avesta and according to Iranian tradition, Zarathustra had taken refuge there under Kava Vistâspa's protection, had promulgated his religion and finally met his martyrdom there.

According to the later traditions 'Nav-Bahâr' is a celebrated Zoroastrian Fire-temple of Balkh. Firdausi's predecessor, Daqiqi, who died after composing a thousand couplets of the *Shâh-nâma*, has mentioned 'Nav-Bahâr' as a Fire-temple. According to him, when Lohrâsp gave his crown to his son Gustâsp, he retired to the Fire-temple of 'Nav-Bahâr' in Balkh and settled there. He adds:

"To the worshippers of Yazdân this 'Nav-Bahâr' was a place of pilgrimage just as Mecca is to the Hajis."

In spite of his calling 'Nav-Bahâr' a Fire-temple, it is evident from Daqiqi's own verses that Lohrâsp settled himself in a place which, however, was not a fire-fane. It was not customary for the Iranians and especially for kings to retire to Fire-temples for the rest of their lives. It seems that the place under reference was a Buddhist monastery. From the description of 'Nav-Bahâr' given by Persian

and Arab geographers of the middle centuries, such as Al-Kermâni, Ibn-ul-Faqîh and Yâkût, it is clear that it was a Buddhist temple. The famous Barmakis, on whose administrative genius the prosperity and greatness of the 'Abbâsid Khalîphs of Baghdâdh depended, began to be converted to Islam in the last part of the first century after the Hijrat. But before their conversion they were the managers of 'Nav-Bahâr' and its large estates which were all very rich. In fact they were the princely landlords of these important temple-estates. These Barmakis were originally Persian Buddhists. Some orientalist suppose that 'Barmak' is the Iranian form of the Sanskrit word परम, 'parama', meaning "the highest".

According to some Iranian geographers 'Nav-Bahâr' signifies "the New Spring", but the word 'Bahâr' here has nothing to do with the season of spring. It is certainly the Sanskrit word 'Vihâra' and the whole name signifies "the New Cloister". From the historical records of Hsuan Tsang, the learned Chinese traveller of the first half of the seventh century after Christ, it is clear that the temple under consideration was a Buddhist place of worship. In his description of 'Po-Ho', i. e., Balkh or Bactria, he gives the geographical situation of the place and refers to its floral beauty. Then he speaks of the temple and the 'stûpas'; there were about a hundred convents and three thousand monks who worshipped three of Buddha's relics, his tooth, washing basin and sweeping brush. Hsuan Tsang's account of the 'Vihâra' is as follows :—

"To the south-west of the convent there is a *Vihâra*. Many years have elapsed since its foundation was laid. It is the resort (of people) from distant quarters. There are also a large number of men of conspicuous talent. As it would be difficult for the several possessors of the four different degrees (*fruits*)

of holiness to explain accurately their condition of saintship, therefore the Arhats (*Lo-han*) when about to die, exhibit their spiritual capabilities (*miraculous powers*), and those who witness such an exhibition found *stûpas* in honour of the deceased saints. These are closely crowded together here, to the number of several hundreds. Besides these there are some thousand others, who, although they had reached the fruit of holiness (*i. e.*, *Arhatship*), yet having exhibited no spiritual changes at the end of life, have no memorial erected to them.”¹

So we see that the religion of Buddha was spread far and wide in the East Iranian countries, specially in Zoroastrian Balkh or Bactria which had become a renowned centre of Buddhism. The religion of Mani which appeared in Irân in the reign of Sâpûr the Great (240 - 271 A. C.) was strongly influenced by Buddhism. Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Manichæanism all existed side by side in Eastern Irân till the seventh century after Christ, when the Arabs conquered Persia and pushed out all the three. We find some stray references to Buddhism in Iranian history, *e. g.*, that a tooth of Buddha was preserved in the Iranian treasury, just as the original cross of Christ was in the possession of Khusru Parvîz (Chosroes II, 580 - 628 A. C.) in the Iranian treasures at Ctesiphon. It has been stated that Khusru Parvîz's daughter Purândokht who ruled from May to October 630 A. C., had given it back to the emperor of Byzantium. Buddha's tooth was formerly preserved at Pesâwar. In about 520 A. C. it was at Nagarahâra near Jalâlâbâd. But Hsüan Tsang, while visiting this place in the first half of the seventh century after Christ, could not find it there. He says:—

1 ‘Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World, by Samuel Beal, Vol. I, Book I, p. 46.

“ Within the city is the ruined foundation of a great *stûpa*. Tradition says that it once contained a tooth of Buddha, and that it was high and of great magnificence. Now it has no tooth, but only the ancient foundations remain.”¹

In a Chinese annual report, it is stated that in 530 A.C. an ambassador came from Irân to the court of the Chinese emperor and brought from the Sâh (the king of Irân) a tooth of Buddha as a present. This tooth must have been in Irân before the crowning of Nôsirwân (Chosroes I) which took place in 531 A.C. His expedition to the Kâbul Valley and the Panjab naturally took place after 531 A.C., and the importation of the said tooth into Irân cannot be subsequent to 530 A.C., nor can it be assumed to have come to Irân as an article of booty during Nôsirwân's expedition above referred to. Under the circumstances we can surmise that in order to escape from the enemy the *Sramanas* or Buddhist monks of the Kâbul Valley must have fled to Irân, taking the said tooth with them.

We also find in Iranian history a reference to Buddha's Alms-Bowl which, according to Buddhist tradition, will belong to a future Buddha. This is one of the most precious Buddhist relics. This Alms-Bowl was originally in Pâtaliputra (modern Patna) on the bank of the river Ganges. After the island of Ceylon adopted Buddhism king Asoka sent it to the king of Ceylon as a present. It was, however, plundered from there in the first century before Christ. Some time later it came back to Ceylon. The Chinese traveller Fa-hsien, who had travelled between 399 and 414 A.C., did not find the bowl there, but he saw it at Fesâwar and describes it as under :—

¹ *Ib id.*, Vol. I, Book II p 92.

"Buddha's alms-bowl being in this country, the king of the Ephthalites formerly got together a large army and attacked, with a view to carrying off the bowl. When he had conquered the country, as he himself was an ardent believer in the religion of Buddha, he wished to take possession of the bowl and therefore began to make offerings. When he had made his offerings to the Precious Trinity, he richly decorated a huge elephant and placed the bowl on its back. Thereupon the elephant promptly collapsed and was unable to move. A four-wheeled cart was then made to convey the bowl, and a team of eight elephants were harnessed to it. When these, too, were unable to stir, the king knew that his hour for possession of the bowl had not yet come. Filled with shame and regret he built a pagoda on the spot and also a monastery, leaving a garrison to guard the bowl and making all kinds of offerings.... They then eat their midday meal; and in the evening, at the hour for vespers, they replace the bowl as before. It holds perhaps over two pecks, and is of several colours, chiefly black. The four joinings (of the four bowls fused by Buddha into one) are clearly distinguishable. It is about one-fifth of an inch thick, of transparent brilliancy and of a glossy lustre. Poor people throw in a few flowers, and it is full; very rich people wishing to make offering of a large quantity of flowers, may throw in a hundred or a thousand or ten thousand bushels, without ever filling it."¹

Two centuries later Hsuan Tsang did not see it in the Kâbul Valley and says that it was in an Iranian palace. Whilst giving a description of Kien-t'o-lo, Gandhâra or Kâbul Valley, he says:—

1 'The Travels of Fa-hsien (399-414 A.D.),' Re-translated by H. A. Giles, M.A., Cambridge, University Press, 1923, pp. 14-15.

"Inside the royal city, towards the north-east, is an old foundation (*or a ruinous foundation*). Formerly this was the precious tower of the *pâtra* of Buddha. After the *Nirvâṇa* of Buddha, his *pâtra* coming to this country was worshipped during many centuries. In traversing different countries it has come now to Persia.'"¹

King Nôsirwân (Chosroes I) was, as we know, crowned in 531 A. C. It is recorded in Iranian annals that after his expedition to and subjugation of the Kâbul Valley he was presented with the well-known book called the 'Kalîla va Damna', "the Fables of Bîd-pâê," a famous Indian tale consisting of a dialogue between two animals. This book was translated in the time of Nôsirwân from Sanskrit into Pahlavi, the language of the Iranians at the time. After the Arab conquest it was translated from Pahlavi into Arabic in the time of the 'Abbâsid Khalîphs. This last translation found its way into Europe and the fable became known there. The second present to Nôsirwân was a bowl of pearls and it seems that it was the same Alms-Bowl of Buddha.

Now we come to the word 'Bûiti' (بوتی). We have said that some orientalist take it to be the Avestan word for Buddha. The French scholar Darmesteter was, without any sound reason, inclined to identify 'Bûiti' with Buddha. No doubt the Avestan word 'bûiti' became 'but' (بوت) in Persian and it is a general term for an idol. The word 'Bûiti' occurs three times in the Avesta invariably accompanied by the word 'daêva.'

In Vendidad, XIX, 1, 2, 43, it is mentioned together with other 'daêvas,' such as 'Indra' (ایندرو), the greatest deity of the Hindu pantheon, 'Sâuru' (ساورو), Sanskrit 'Sarva', 'Nâonhaithya' (نانونهتیا), Sanskrit Nâsatya,

1 'Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World,' by Samuel Beal, London, 1906, Vol. I, pp. 98-99.

'Taurvi' (𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀), 'Zairicha' (𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀), 'Marshaona' (𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀), 'Druj' (𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀), 'Driwi' (𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀), 'Aêshma' (𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀), 'Kasvis' (𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀), and Paitisha (𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀). It should be noted here that each of these names is, as a rule, accompanied by the common appellative 'daêva'. It is clear from the Zoroastrian Scriptures that most of these 'daêvas' are the opponents of the Mazdayasnân Yazatas. It is not at all logical to say that of all these 'daêvas' only one, Bûiti, is a historical personage. If we try to find the Sanskrit equivalent of the Avestan 'Bûiti,' our attention will turn to the Sanskrit word 'Bhûta', signifying "ghost" or "evil spirit". Some orientalist connect the Avestan word 'Bûiti' with the Persian 'but' (بوت). No doubt the Avestan 'Bûiti' is the name of the daêva of idol-worship.

As the final result of our inquiry, we can state that there exists no direct or indirect mention of Buddhism or its founder Buddha in the Zoroastrian Scriptures. The 'Gaotema' referred to in the Fravardîn Yast, 16, is a famous daêvayasnân, i. e., an adversary of the Mazdayasnân. He is not Gautama Buddha. We have many examples of such 'daêvayasnân' opponents referred to in the Avesta. It is true that Buddhism was well-known in the eastern Iranian countries. It would not have been surprising to find Buddha mentioned in the later religious literature. But the Zoroastrian Avestan Scriptures are much older than the date of the penetration of Buddhism in eastern Irân. In order to compare the Avestan names of human or higher beings and establish a connection between them and the Sanskrit parallel names we must first look to the old Brahminism which was in all respects a parallel to the Mazdayasnân faith, rather than to the later Buddhism.

A BRIEF REVIEW OF IRANIAN HISTORY "

As I am delivering the last of my lectures to-day and am leaving the shores of India within a week, I take this opportunity publicly to express my feeling of reverence for India. I am specially happy to do so owing to the presence to-day of Divan Bahadur Krishnalal Mohanlal Zaveri who is a good and noble son of India, is a reputed scholar of the Persian language and is presiding to-day. We Iranians look at our Parsi brothers in India with feelings of gratitude and respect, for their having preserved the ancient religion of Irân and with it our noble Iranian character. In Irân, to-day, all men look back to their ancient history, tradition and culture and, therefore, there has arisen a feeling of unity and love among the old brethren of Irân of the same blood. When we think of our Parsi brethren as the preservers of the ancient faith of Irân, a feeling of admiration and gratitude for India at once comes to our mind, for the tolerant India, but for whose hospitality and protection, the Parsi community would not be living to-day. This world-famous tolerance of the Hindus is recorded in the history of the past. In their turn, the Parsis love the land of their adoption and consider it as their own, and have deservedly served India with devotion and faithfulness, in all the branches of public life. They have given their full share in the social, educational, industrial and political uplift of this great and glorious country. We Iranians do not feel that the children of Irân had gone to any foreign country eleven centuries ago, because India is an Aryan country and we are glad that a part of the Aryân Irân had taken refuge

in a part of the Aryan India. Now I will give you some historical facts to show why we feel so very thankful to India for the preservation of the Parsis.

We learn from the pages of Iranian history that the last Sasanian king Yazdagard, being totally defeated in the battle of Nohâvand in 21 A. H. (=643 A. C.), fled from one province of Irân to another till he came to Merv, the extreme eastern part of the country close to China, expecting help and protection from the Chinese. He was treacherously killed in 31 A. H. (=653 A. C.). As Yazdagard was thinking of going to China, he sent there a part of his wealth and Iranian treasure, and amongst other things the famous crown of Nôsirwân. Ibn Muqaffa had translated into Arabic the Pahlavi Khudâyi Nâma which was the source of the Shâh-nâma of Firdausi, as also the book of 'Kalîla va Damna,' the Sanskrit text of which (Karaṭaka Damanaka) was carried to Irân in Sasanian times and translated into Pahlavi. On account of his love for Irân his fatherland and its ancient faith, Ibn Muqaffâ was tortured and put to death by order of Isâ b. 'Ali, paternal uncle of the Khaliphs Ab-ul 'Abbâs al-Saffâh and al-Manşûr. His limbs were cut off one by one and thrown into a blazing furnace, in about 139 A. H. (=757 A. C.) As reported by him, seven gold vases, each weighing 12000 drams, made in the time of Kobâd, with a large quantity of silver and gold coins and a thousand mule-load of bars of gold were, among other things, sent to China.

We find in the Chinese annals, that Yazdagard, called Pi-se-se in Chinese had, after his defeat in Istakhr in 638 A. C., sent an embassy to China to the Court of the Emperor Tai-Tsung. This embassy, called Mu-se-pan by the Chinese, may be the Iranian term 'Marzpân'. This embassy had taken to China an animal looking like a big rat of greenish colour. It used to catch rats from the

holes and it was called Hao-zo-che in Chinese. It is possible that it was a cat which the Chinese had not seen till then.

It is further stated in the Chinese annals that the son of Yazdagard, the well-known Crown Prince of Irân called by the Chinese Pi-lu-se, *i. e.*, Pirôch, had fled to China after the death of his father and the attacks of the enemy in the east of Irân. The Emperor of China had conferred on him the command of the cavalry on the right, the highest rank in the army. Pirôch was for a long time in Chang-negan. In 688 A. C., he built there a Zoroastrian temple and called it the Temple of Irân just as the Parsis have named 'Irân-Sahr' the first Fire-temple built by them in India. It is also reported that Pirôch returned to Irân with a Chinese army and fought with the Arabs, but unfortunately he was defeated and returned to China where he died later. Pirôch had a son in China named Ni-niya-se in the annals, which is the same name as 'Narsi.' Pirôch and Narsi are remembered even to-day in the 'Dibâcha-i Âfringân' in the list of the glorious departed. The title of commander was also conferred on Narsi and we hear of him till 709 A. C. in the Chinese annals. I will not here enter into details, but mention in passing that Pirôch and Narsi had ruled small kingdoms in the western Irân and had gone to China after suffering a defeat. We learn that till 755 A. C. embassies were sent to the Chinese court. In 722 A.C. one of these local kings is named Poshan-hao (= Pasang) and in 728 and 729 A. C. one Khusru is mentioned as a descendent of Yazdagard. In 732 A. C., an ambassador from Irân to the Chinese court is mentioned, without the name of the king who had sent the embassy. This ambassador is named 'Ki-li-e'. He was a priest of the Nestorian church.

I give this short sketch of our relations with China after the downfall of the Sasanian dynasty to show that

Iranian princes and nobles and a large number of the Iranian populace had gone to China as it was easier to go there than to come to India. Unfortunately, of the large Iranian population that had migrated to China, we find to-day, no trace, neither any clan nor family surviving. This fact endears India the more to us Iranians that it is this great and glorious Aryan country which has saved and protected our Parsi race under its affectionate and tolerant shelter.

I am tempted to give one more example to show that till late in the ninth century after Christ it was customary for the Iranians to go to China. We read in the 'Epistles of Manûschîhr', written in 881 A. C. in the last quarter of the ninth century after Christ, that Manûschîhr, son of Gôsn-jam, High-priest of Pârs and Kermân, having had a controversy with his brother Zât-spâram as regards the orthodox usages of ablution, speaks of migrating by sea to China or by land to Arûm (Asia Minor), being exasperated and tired of the controversy. This shows that even two hundred and thirty years after the Sasanian downfall, the Iranians had close relationship with China where surely a very large population of theirs had migrated.

At the end of my introductory remarks, I wish to bring to your notice the memorable words of the Foreign Minister of Irân, who is now the Prime Minister, His Highness Muhammad 'Ali Forughi, when Dr. Tagore thanked the Government of Irân for having agreed to send a Professor of Iranian Culture to India. His Highness Forughi said: "This action was simply an expression of gratitude to India for having given refuge and protection to a band of our countrymen about 1200 years ago, who had deserted their beloved fatherland for the preservation of their religion and independence."

My purpose in this lecture is to detach from the labyrinth of confused details which has come into being in Irân during three thousand years and to cull out certain broad aspects and tendencies of the Iranian history so that they might be of interest to people who could hardly be expected to have either any intimate knowledge of or interest in all the events that took place in times gone by.

Geographically, what is known as the Iranian plateau extends from the Indus Valley on one side to the Tigris in Mesopotamia on the other. Persia lies in the West of this plateau and Afghanistan and a part of Baluchistan in the East. The latter territories have been politically detached from the common Iranian sovereignty only a few centuries ago.

When one branch of the Aryan race separated from the other which formed the nucleus of the Hindu community and came and settled in the plateau, it gave its own name to the new land and called it *Airyana*, which is the name we find in the Avesta. Similarly the Hindus called *Âryavrat* the land they came to and settled in. About 550 years ago, it was called *Erân*. Before the Aryans came to this plateau, the different aboriginal tribes that inhabited its different parts must have given their own names to those parts. Some of these names have been preserved for us by occidental classical writers. The name *Persia* which, with slight differences, is the name for Irân, in all the European languages, has its historical origin in the Greek appellation of this land. The real origin of this word is *Pârsa* or *Parsua*, which was and still is the name of the province of Fârs in the south of Irân. In about 550 B.C. the ruling dynasty of the Achæmenians, which rose from this province, so extended its power over the whole of Irân, and built such a mighty, far-reaching empire that

the name of this province of Pàrsa was extended to include the entire country as also its people. The first Greeks who spoke of the Iranians were the Greeks of the Gulf of Smyrna, known in the old Persian inscriptions as the *Yauna*. As their language did not contain the vowel â, they replaced it by ê and were obliged to call the Iranians as *Pêrsis*. So also, about a little less than two centuries before, at the end of the eighth century before Christ, when the then ruling dynasty of Irân hailed from another province in the west of Irân called Mâdos, that name too was meant to include the whole of the country of Irân and its people, and the Greeks then called it Media.

It is interesting to note that these *Yaunas* of Asia Minor were the first Greeks—although they did not belong to the island of Greece proper—who came in contact with the Iranians, and it was their name *Yauna* that the Iranians applied to the whole of Greece which they called Yûnân.

The average European knows little of Iranian history because he has inherited his own civilisation from the Greeks and the Romans. Nevertheless, the significance of Iranian history to indicate the pioneer work of Irân in the general march of civilisation is not annulled by the isolation of Irân from the European imagination. Iranian influence is discernible even in Christianity. It is much more evident in Judaism and in Islam. Irân was, moreover, once a great empire and had cultural contact with almost all the ancient civilisations, such as those of India, Greece, Rome, Babylon, Lydia, Syria, Elam, Egypt, Arabia, and even that of the Mongols and the Tartars. Even otherwise, Irân could not have remained free from such cultural contact, as being situated as it was, it formed the cross-way of these important nations of the ancient world.

Broadly speaking, Iranian history can be divided into two main divisions: 1) from 713 B.C. to 652 A.C., and 2) from 652 A.C. upto date. During the first period of 1365 years, four dynasties ruled over Persia, and it twice attained the pinnacle of glory. The first span of greatness lasted from 550 B. C. upto the conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great in 330 B. C., the period of the Achæmenian rule; the second from 224 A. C. to the conquest of Persia by the Arabs in 636 A. C., the period of the Sasanian rule. During the second period extending over a little less than thirteen centuries, more than twenty dynasties ruled and passed away, the sway of some of them extended over the whole of Persia and that of others was limited to parts of Persia only.

I have stated above that Aryan sovereignty in Irân can be historically traced to the end of the eighth century before Christ. We now know that before the Aryan invasion, the country had an old and magnificent civilisation. We find references to it in the Old Testament. The civilisation centred in the part then known as Elam or Susiana, now called Khuzistan, with its capital in Susa, now known as Sustar. The Elamite civilisation was parallel to the old civilisations of Sumer and Akkad, in the northern and southern Mesopotamia. The Sumerian civilisation gave birth to the Assyrian, the Akkadian to the Babylonian. The Elamite civilisation can be traced at least to three thousand years before Christ.

When the Aryans first came to the Iranian plateau, they settled in various parts of it in small groups. Gradually these groups grew up in number, became more consolidated and gathered strength. As the Aryans grew in number and strength, the neighbouring people were gradually brought under their sway, until they and their

old civilisation were assimilated into the new Iranian civilisation. The Aryans were developing. There exist inscriptions of old Assyrian kings describing how as early as a thousand years before Christ, they had constant warfare with the Aryan groups, scattered over the Iranian plateau. The Aryans remained in groups until at the end of the eighth century before Christ, the Mâda dynasty, so called because it arose from the western part of Irân called by that name, established its hegemony over the other groups and thus was founded the first Iranian Empire. I have mentioned above that the Greeks of Asia Minor first called the Iranians 'Medes' from this dynasty.

We have the evidence of the occidental classical writers that the Aryans of the Iranian plateau had very early formed themselves in strong political groups. We have particular references to the kingdom in the east of the plateau called Bactriana. Besides the reports of the classical writers, we have the testimony of Zarathustra himself, who refers four times in his Gâthâs to the king named Vistâspa, who ruled in eastern Irân, as the king and protector of his religion. I may remind you here that the prophet of Irân lived at least a thousand years before Christ.

We can form an idea of the nature and strength of these groups or principalities from the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings who were constantly at war with them. We read of the invasion of these tribes by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I, as early as 1100 B.C. Three centuries later Shalmaneser had led his army there. Shalmaneser's expedition against Irân is of special interest as in the inscription regarding the campaign, the Mâda or Medes are mentioned for the first time who, later on, became the first imperial rulers of Irân. Again we read of the campaigns of Adad-nirari in

810 B.C. In the inscription recounting the expedition of Tiglath-pileser IV, we read the amazing fact that the Assyrian king had taken 60,500 prisoners during the campaign. This fact gives us an idea of the vastness of the Iranian principalities. In 722 B. C., Sargon II again invaded Irân and that was the last campaign of the Assyrians against Irân. Soon after this rose the famous Median dynasty and the humiliation of the Aryans by foreign races came to an end. They soon came to power and their armies ravaged the proud plains of Assyria and Babylon.

Persian history, in the sense of an organised historical movement of the Iranian race, may be said to have begun in 713 B. C. with the Mâda dynasty, known to the Europeans as the Median sovereignty, which was the first assertion of the Iranian race as a conscious organised force in history. The dynasty which gave its name to this period rose out of Mâda, a province in the west of Irân. The life of this dynasty was comparatively short: it ran only for 163 years from 713 to 550 B.C.

Unfortunately, no Persian inscriptions are available to give us a full and accurate account of this dynasty. Most of our information is derived from Greek writers and Syrian inscriptions, for Syria had continued hostile relations with Irân at the time. There are also some references in the Old Testament to the Mâda dynasty.

Herodotus, Ctesias and other later Greek writers have mentioned the names of kings of this dynasty. But the testimony varies. However, the four kings about whom we can be sure are: Deiokes, Phraortes, Cyaxares and Astyages. Their Persian names are: Dâyükku, Fravartîs, Huvakhsatara and Istuvegu.

The first of these kings Dâyükku who founded the dynasty was the greatest of them. It is said that

he was the judge of a certain town in Irân. He won such renown for his judicial integrity that he was elected to the tribunal of several towns. Gradually his authority increased until he became the virtual sovereign over a considerable part of Irân. He established his capital in the town known to the Greeks as Ecbatana, to the old Iranians as Hagmatâna and to the modern Irân as Hamadân. Unfortunately for the archæologist and the historian, the modern Hamadân stands on exactly the same site whereon the ancient Hagmatâna stood, and it is not, therefore, possible to excavate and bring to light the history of the old town unless we are prepared to demolish the present one. The inscriptions which might be unearthed are, therefore, to remain buried and unknown, and the historian must be content to do without them.

According to Herodotus, the fort of king Deiokes was built on the Assyrian model and had seven walls, each of a different colour. The battlements of the two interior walls were covered with gold and silver plates.

Under the first of these four kings, the Iranian people for the first time became conscious of having been an organised political power, and the shadow of the Assyrian supremacy was removed from the Aryan race. Under the second Median king, all the parts of Irân hitherto disorganised and isolated, were consolidated and formed into a single unified whole. It was under this king, Phraortes or Fravartis, that the province of Mâda, which gave to Irân the first imperial dynasty, was united to the province of Fârs, which gave to Irân its second imperial dynasty, and to which, as I have pointed out above, the name of 'Persia' is to be traced. But it was under the third of these sovereigns, Cyaxares or Huvakhsatara, that this dynasty reached the height of its glory. The Iranian hordes were then, for the

first time, disciplined and marshalled into regular troops and battalions. These hordes of fighting nomads were transformed into a martial people, who ventured to challenge the supremacy of the older kingdoms that had hitherto dominated the world. In the reign of this king, a large portion of Asia Minor came under the Iranian sway. The independence of the celebrated and wealthy kingdom of Lydia which, though small, was at that time the centre of world-commerce, was challenged, and though the Iranians failed to crush the Lydians a treaty was made whereby the river Halys was fixed as the boundary line dividing Lydia and Media. The height of Median glory was reached with the conquest of Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, by Cyaxares (Huvakhsatara) in 612 B.C. It was the first time that the supremacy of the Aryans over the Semites was asserted. The importance of this victory is, therefore, very great in the history in the world.

During the reign of Astyages (Istuvegu), the fourth Median king, the Median dynasty was followed by the Achæmenian. The Achæmenians were hitherto the satraps in southern Persia under the suzerainty of the Medians. With the defeat of the last Median king in 550 B.C., the Achæmenians under Cyrus the Great wielded the ruling imperial power in Irân. This change of dynasty did not signify any deviation in the course of Iranian history as initiated in its onward path of progress by the Medians. The Achæmenians simply carried this march of glory still further.

Whilst speaking of the great Achæmenian dynasty which ruled for a long period of nearly 230 years we are struck with the vastness and organisation of this world famous empire. Its boundaries extended from the river Indus to the Ægean sea.

So many nations and religions were living under its sway that its existence of long standing has been considered a record in the history of the world. This proves its sound organisation and justice in all the branches of administration. The wonderful strength of the Achæmenian empire lay in its perfect administration and the capability of the thirty satraps (Khshathrapâs) under whom it was admirably and justly governed with tolerance and love.

The Achæmenian kings were God-fearing and noble; they never acted unjustly or tyrannically. Their tolerance is well known in history. Cyrus, the first Achæmenian king, is mentioned in the Old Testament as Messiah, the Lord's anointed, and his great acts of charity and goodness are narrated with appreciation. The Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar conquered Jerusalem and carried away 40,000 Jews to Babylon as captives. When Cyrus seized Babylon he freed the Jews from bondage and returned to them the huge booty and wealth which Nebuchadnezzar had taken away. Cyrus also helped the Jews to rebuild the temple of king Solomon in Jerusalem. His son Darius the Great gave them money to rebuild the temple. Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, realising the danger to his kingdom from the invasion of Cyrus, gathered all the statues of the deities from all over his kingdom for the protection of his capital. When Cyrus entered Babylon on the 27th October, 539 B.C., he respectfully returned the statues of the gods to their respective places. From an inscription composed in the Babylonian language, now in the British Museum, we learn how Cyrus paid great homage to the local Babylonian gods Marduk and Nebo.

Herodotus, in his book III, 89 and 160, informs us that Cyrus was called father by his own people, in his time.

Soph. Aeschylus, in his tragedy named 'Persae', has called him the best model of a great ruler.

The quality of tolerance was inherent, more or less, in all the Achæmenian kings. In spite of the accusations of Herodotus against Cambyses, modern researches have proved that he was not a bad and cruel king as depicted by Herodotus. His cruelty to the Egyptians is only a myth. On the contrary, Cambyses had built a mausoleum over the remains of Apis the bull-god who died in 524 B. C. This mausoleum still exists. Egyptian hieroglyphics are still surviving in praise of this Persian conqueror. As these hieroglyphics were inscribed by the Egyptians after the conquest of Cambyses, we can safely treat them as genuine tribute to the goodness of this king, not feigned and inspired by fear. Herodotus' prejudice against the Persian kings can be explained by the fact that the Greek historian lived in the fifth century before Christ, shortly after the Persian expedition to Greece in 480 B.C.

We find this same Iranian tolerance even after a thousand years in the history of Irân. Justinian, the Byzantine Roman Emperor (527-565 A. C.), was a fanatic Christian. In 530, he sent a proclamation to close down the famous university of Saint Ephraim in Edessa, and the other philosophic academies of the time in Alexandria and Athens. The philosophers were not then allowed to follow their own religion. Seven great philosophers, Damascius of Syria, Simplicius of Cilicia, Eulamius of Phrygia, Priscianus of Lydia, Isidorus of Gaza, Hermias and Diogenes of Phœnicia, were driven away from their country and took refuge in tolerant Irân in the time of Khusru Nôsirwân, who received them kindly, kept them in comfort and held philosophic discussions with them. Shortly after, a treaty was signed between the Iranians

and the Byzantines, one of the clauses of which inserted by Khosru being this that the Byzantines should allow freedom and peace to the philosophers of their country following other religions.

The persecution of the Christians in Irân no doubt occupies considerable space in history. It was mainly on political grounds and had nothing to do with religious fanaticism. In 294 A. C., the Christian saint, Gregory Illuminator, went to Armanastan and exhorted the people to follow Christianity. From this time onward, a large number of Armenians became Christians. Tiridates, the king of Armanastan himself adopted Christianity and died in 314 A.C. The whole of Armenia was gradually christianised and this was the cause of the constant tussle between Irân and the Byzantines. The Byzantines intrigued and instigated these Armenian Christians to create mischief in Irân. They insulted the Mubads, burnt the fire-temples and behaved disrespectfully towards them. The Iranians curbed with firmness these instigations made with political motives. The great German Iranist, Justi, notes that the Iranians must have been angels, not to take revenge on such great ruin and disrespect. On the other hand, we know that the Nestorian Christians, who had nothing to do with the Byzantines, were liked and respected by the Iranians and were very friendly to them. We can say with certainty that this persecution was purely on political grounds and had nothing to do with the Roman church, but it was out of necessity only to save the honour of the Iranian race and religion.

It requires no great stretch of imagination to understand what serious shocks Irân must have been subjected to when one dynasty succeeded another in a comparatively short time during the second period of thirteen

centuries in the history of Irân. In absolute monarchies, where the king is the state, dispossession of the crown is a debasing thing, a kingdom-quake perhaps, if we were allowed to coin a word. At least three of the twenty changes in dynasty, were productive of so much bloodshed and were so barbarous that the subjects passing through them required centuries to recover from their effects. The invasion by the Arabs, the terror of the Môngol Changiz Khan and the massacres of Taimurlane the Tartar, were such that the account of these make us wonder at the fact that Irân still exists. What is still more surprising is this that Irân does not only exist but it has remained Iranian! While Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria, Africa and other unfortunate countries that have passed through the ravages of the fanatic Arab have lost their original character, Irân is the one country excepting Spain which, instead of being arabicised, has remained Iranian and iranised whatever the Arabs tried to force on it.

For about three centuries after the deadly blow of the Arab, Irân lay in a more or less stunned condition. Then it recovered its consciousness and revived under the Seljuk dynasty (1037-1187 A.C.), resuscitated its ancient Achaemenian majesty and its empire extended from China to the Mediterranean. The Seljuks were foreigners, but they were totally iranised and their character and morals were based on the Iranian model. It was the age of the literary splendour of Irân. The last part of it was graced by the twin splendour of S'adî and Hâfiz.

But the sun set once again on Irân; darkness and gloom descended over Irân; it experienced the terrors and tortures of Changiz Khan and of Taimurlane one after the other in sweet succession. The story of their conquests is one long tale of pillage, arson and massacre.

How the sad recollection of such unredeemed barbarism lingers in the Iranian mind may be illustrated by an anecdote current among our people. It is said that after one of the ravages, Changiz Khan asked his generals if they had ever felt pity during their commissions of slaughter. The answer was of course a solemn denial. One of the generals, however, tremblingly admitted that he had been touched with pity on one occasion. When he once entered a house, all the members of which had been slaughtered, he saw in a room a child lying on a cot. The child was awake and its mouth was open as though eagerly feeling for its mother's breast. The general was so moved to pity that he put the point of his spear in the mouth of the babe and lovingly raised it up in the air! Changiz Khan was so furious at this tale of tenderness that he ordered the general's head to be cut off.

It is to the glory of Irân that these votaries of blood and iron, after a stay of some generations in Irân, were so humanised as actually to have become patrons of culture and of arts. The age that followed was the age in which the foundations were laid of that miniature art which reached its zenith during the times of the Safavî dynasty. The rudiments of this great art were introduced by these conquerors from China; planted in Irân, it was developed and iranianised and later on introduced in India by the Moguls.

Irân required centuries to recover from the shock of the Mongolian and the Tatarian blows; but when it did recover, it again regained the old splendour of Sasanian rule under the Safavî dynasty in 1502-1732. Under the Safavis, the Iranians reached that eminence in art which has justly won for them a high place among the people of artistic talents in the world. Many of the paintings which fascinated the critics of western art by their

exquisite grace and colour during the Exhibition of Persian paintings in London in 1930, belonged to this period. In Ispahân, the capital of this dynasty, we still see buildings which unmistakably strike us as the prototypes of the Mogul architecture in Delhi and Agra.

The Safavis were the unrelenting foes of the Ottoman Turks and did much to check the aggrandisement of the latter in Asia, at a time when the Europeans, specially of Central Europe, lived in constant fear of them. It was this hostility which drove Irân to adopt the aggressive Siism as its creed as a counter-challenge to the hostile Sunniism of the insolent Turk.

During the second period of Iranian history that we are reviewing, we find that Irân rose four times to eminence; not once or twice, but four times, was the sacred Aryan Fire covered over with ashes, but it could never be put out. Again and again when the light breeze blew, the flame rose and shone high in its ancient splendour. Irân has, in this respect, shown an intrinsic vitality, which Greece, its ancient foe, failed to show; for, Greece, after its brief period of glory, from 500 to 300 B.C., was over, never scaled those heights again, although it is true that some portion of Greece is immortalised in modern European culture. So also did Rome regain its Cæsarian grandeur only once, after its decay, in the Renaissance.

Irân is trying once again to reassert its ancient greatness. Under its soldier-monarch Razâ Sâh Pahlavi, risen from the ranks, Irân is progressing during the last ten years. If the progress continues, it might once more regain some of its former splendour not by the rude conquest of territory, but by the conquest of that which conquers the conquerors: by culture and the arts of peace.

Now I will give you a very brief account of the modern revolution in Irân. The barbarous Turkoman

Kājārs ruled Irān for a century and a half and Irān fell to its lowest level under them. While all the nations of the world were rapidly progressing in the nineteenth century, Irān was doomed. The industrial revolution of the Western countries and the scientific advancement of their people on one side and the cold-blooded lifeless rule of the Kājārs in Irān on the other had made Irān a deserted and helpless country to stand still in the midst of the rapid march of civilization. Irān had sunk so low that it was not possible to recognize it as a great country of the past. In the beginning of this century the situation was miserable and awful. In utter exasperation the nation forced Muzaffar-ud-dīn Sāh Kājār to change his attitude and brought about the revolution of 1907. But after a precipitous fall of a century and a half Irān could not realize the ideal of freedom ushered in its midst. The Constitutive Assembly was established but the affairs did not materially change. Then came the world war and the situation became worse. Between Russia on the one side and Britain on the other, Irān was divided and totally desolated. After the great world war Russia became Bolshevik and invaded northern Irān (Gilān) in 1920. Colonel Razā Khān was then at Kazvin, midway between the Russian frontier and Teheran. At this time, Irān was so divided and utterly lost that Colonel Razā Khān made a bold effort and with his small army attacked Teheran and captured the city on the 22nd February 1921. He became the Commander-in-chief and immediately set himself to the task of organizing the Iranian army which consisted of only 15,000 soldiers. He then marched towards the various corners of Irān where there was disorder and brought the contending parties under his control and saved Irān from being totally wiped off from the map of the world. He was then appointed War Minister by the

'Majlis'. Afterwards, on account of his growing popularity he was put at the helm of affairs as Prime Minister and on the 16th December 1925 he was finally crowned as the Sâh of Irân.

At the instigation and machinations of foreign powers, the tribal chiefs of Luristân and Khuzistân and the Kaskâi of Fârs rose against Sâh Razâ but he had established his authority by the time and had a powerful army with which to crush these rebellious chiefs and give to Irân complete security.

Sâh Razâ Pahlavi has completely changed the appearance of the Irân of to-day, there is security of life and property and there are newly built roads for travel with safety guarded by the gendarmes on horseback.

Irân is proud to-day of its large and efficient army which Sâh Razâ has organized in a masterly manner. There is an army of 100,000 trained veteran soldiers with able and well-trained officers who had their training in the Western military academies. Irân possesses ammunition and all the requisites of warfare in large quantity. As military service is compulsory, Irân is ready with her army of nearly 5,00,000 of high standard and capacity to face any contingency, for self-defence. This fact makes us realise that Irân has not lost its ancient valour and martial spirit. We see the same strength and courage of ancient times in the Iranian nation to-day.

Irân has seen great ups and downs. Great dynasties had established powerful suzerainty four times. They were not the temporary effusions of a weak and tottering nation. The suzerainty of Irân was well organised on a firm basis of political power and on social and moral justice. It was not the short spell of a Napoleon or a

Nadir ; it was a suzerainty deep rooted in the firmness of organised Iranian dynasties.

The question may well be raised whether modern Irân with all its unifying influences and material and political progress is not rapidly drifting towards the Western pattern and Western civilization. The youths of Irân take their training in the West and all the ideals of life are imported or borrowed from the West. To this there is a conclusive reply. Whoever reads the pages of Iranian history will feel convinced that Irân has never lost its national traits, culture and individuality. Even great conquerors and a foe like Alexander were unable to change Irân's nationalism. The Greeks were, on the contrary, immensely influenced by the Iranians and thus Greece was practically conquered by Irân. Similarly, after the great Arab invasion and onslaught Irân never accepted anything from the Arab culture and civilization ; it was the Arab who was rather humanised and iranised in all his walks of life. Seeing the greatness of Iranian civilization and culture, the later Arabs were obliged to adopt the traits of character and modes of living of the Iranians and all their great learning and culture received a decisive impress from the Iranians. The same was the case with the Mongols and the Tartars. Even at present Irân is, on the one hand, imitating Western civilization, and it will surely assimilate it, without losing her individuality as a nation. On the other hand, Irân is reverting to her old cultural and moral traits. It tries to revive the learning of its own ancient history and to respect and appreciate all that was good in antiquity. Thus, though there is a tendency towards westernisation, there is also the urge towards ancient customs and ideals—call it patriotism or

nationalism—and we feel confident that Irân as usual will retain her nationality and individuality intact.

One very desirable circumstance is this that Irân is also advancing intellectually. Education is spreading widely and within a short expanse of time thousands of schools have been opened. Though the Government of Irân is engaged in manifold activities and cannot provide enough funds, a hundred students are annually sent to the European countries for higher studies at Government expense. There is no compulsory education in Irân at present; the Iranians do not want to use mere words. We have not enough teachers at present and it will take years to train good teachers. After this is done there will surely be compulsory education; it is only a question of time. One good feature to be noted is this that a good number of books is coming out in this decade; more books are published in this short period than in the whole of the last century. Intellectual advancement is the only criterion of the progress of a nation. Irân is now acquiring it, and as a result of it, with her literature, poetry, art and science she will contribute her appreciable share as she did in old times towards the advancement of learning.
